LIVES,

Engliſh and *Forein*:

Containing the

HISTORY

OF THE

Moſt Illuſtrious Perſons

OF

Our Own and Other Nations,

FROM

The Year 1550, to the Year 1690.

By ſeveral Hands;

Who have been aſſiſted in the Work with many *private Memoirs.*

In TWO Volumes.

London: Printed for *Benj. Tooke*, at the *Middle-Temple-Gate* in *Fleetſtreet*, and *William Davis*, at the *Black-Bull* in *Cornhil*; and ſold by *John Nutt*, near *Stationers-Hall*, 1704.

LIVES,

English *and* Forein,

VIZ.

William *Lord* Burleigh.
Sir Walter Raleigh.
George *Duke of* Buckingham.
Marquiſs *of* Montroſs.
Oliver Cromwell.
Admiral Coligni.
Don John *of* Auſtria, *Son of* Charles *the Fifth.*
William *the Firſt*, *Prince of* Orange.
Alexand. Farneſe, *Prince of* Parma.
Alb. *Count* Wallenſtein.

Including the

History of *ENGLAND*,

AND

Other NATIONS of *EUROPE*,

FROM

The Year 1550, to the Year 1690.

By Several Hands.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

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THE PREFACE.

'TIS *with all due reſpect to the Ability of many better Hiſtorians now living, that the Authors of the following* Lives *have preſum'd to Publiſh a Work which for dignity might be an Honour to the moſt* Celebrated Pens.

If we ſhou'd, like others, affect an extraordinary Modeſty, and acknowledge we thought our ſelves unfit for the Task, the World might very reaſonably demand Why then did you attempt it? *We will not, as ſeveral* Modern Prefacers *have done, pretend 'twas to animate ſome more able Hiſtorians, who are like a certain* Mad Muſician *at* Oxford, *that wou'd never touch his Fiddle unleſs he was provok'd to it by Indignation to hear another ſcrape on it. We own freely we had no ſuch humble meaning, and was purely tempted to undertake the* Hiſtory *of the* moſt Illuſtrious Perſons *in the firſt* Twelve Centuries, *by the uſefulneſs and pleaſantneſs of the Work its ſelf, which we believ'd wou'd be equally profitable and diverting to our ſelves and our Readers.*

We know the vaſt difference that there is between a general Hiſtory, *ſuch as* Livy *and* Joſephus *among the* Ancients; *and* Mariana *and* Buchanan *among the* Moderns, *and*

particular Hiſtories of the Actions of particular Men, ſuch as Cornelius Nepos *and* Suetonius *among the* Latins; Plutarch *and* Herodian *among the* Greeks. *We are not ignorant that a general Hiſtory is a much more noble Undertaking, and requires a more extraordinary Talent to perform it.*

'Tis amazing for a Man to conſider what a deſign Livy *had before him: how at one view he took in a* Period *of Eight hundred Years, the moſt fruitful in Events of any the ſame number of Years from the* Creation *to this time; and how he has all along maintain'd the different Characters and Actions he was to deſcribe with equal Grace and Force. As the Deſign of* General Hiſtory *is more* Noble, *ſo the manner of conducting it is more* Sublime *than that of* Lives. *The Author muſt always have in his Eye to whom he is ſpeaking, to the* Maſters *of the* World *as well as to the* People; *and always muſt preſerve his Character of* Majeſty *and* Juſtice. *In writing of Lives he is only to Copy after Nature, to ſhew ſuch a Perſon as he liv'd and dy'd, to relate the Events that happen'd, with as much plainneſs as if he was himſelf telling his own Story. In ſhort, to make the* Picture *rather* Like *than* Beautiful.

All the Fine Arts *have a ſecret Relation one to the other, the ſame general* Rules *will ſerve for all; for* Poetry, Hiſtory, Painting, Muſick, *&c. eſpecially the* Rules *of Painting, which is the moſt viſible imitation of Nature, have the ſame agreement with* Hiſtory *as with* Poetry,

Poetry, *tho they are commonly call'd the* Siſter Sciences. *The* Great Poetry, *the* Epick *and the* Dramatick, *bear a very near reſemblance to the* Great Painting; *and the likeneſs between that and* General Hiſtory *is ſo remarkable, that 'tis from thence call'd* Hiſtory Painting.

The Writing of Lives *is, as Mr.* Dryden *tells us in his Life of* Plutarch, *inferior* in Dignity, to General Hiſtory, and Annals; tho in Pleaſure and Inſtruction it equals, or even excels both of 'em, *However 'tis in a lower order, and may be compar'd to* Limning, *in which 'tis the Perfection of the Art to keep to likeneſs; yet the Pen has the advantage of the Pencil in Hiſtory, as well as Poetry; for it being a ſpeaking Picture, it not only* Pleaſes, *but* Inſtructs. *And the learned* Biſhop *of* Salisbury, *in his* Life *of Sir* Matthew Hales, *obſerves.* No part of Hiſtory is more inſtructive and delighting than the Lives of Great and Worthy Men. The ſhortneſs of them invites many Readers, and there are ſuch little, and yet remarkable Paſſages in them, too inconſiderable to be put in a General Hiſtory of the Age in which they liv'd, that People are very deſirous to know them. This is the reaſon that *Plutarchs* Lives are more generally Read, than any of all the Books which the Ancient *Greeks* or *Romans* writ. *'Tis theſe* Little Paſſages *that ſhew a Man more than all the glorious Actions he has been ingag'd in; as Moles and Wens diſtinguiſh Faces more than Features.*

General Hiſtory *rather amuſes the Reader with a ſplendid ſhew of extraordinary Events, than improves his Mind by bringing things nearer Home to himſelf, in ſetting Patterns of Vertue and Wiſdom before him for his imitation. In particular Hiſtories he ſees the Man with all his good Qualities, and his bad. He is let into his Company when he diveſts himſelf of the falſe Appearance with which he glitters on the Stage of the World. He is a Witneſs of his Vanity, Folly, and all the Imperfections of his frail Nature. He may behold a* Scipio *and a* Lelius *gathering Cockleſhels, an* Auguſtus *at* Quaits *with Boys, and an* Ageſilaus *riding on a* Hobby-Horſe, *a* Conde *Vaulting over a* Mayors *Head, and a* Cromwel *driving a* Coach.

Valour *and* Fortune *are common alike to all* Heroes, *greatneſs of Mind, Generoſity, Fortitude, and all the Moral Vertues are the ſame in one Man, and in another; but the* Humours *and* Habits *of Men vary as much as their Features.* Alexander *at the deſtruction of* Tyre, *and* Scipio *at the Sack of* Carthage, *were both victorious, and had both reduc'd a powerful Republick to the Dominion of the* Greecian, *and the* Roman *Empires; but the difference is in their future Conduct, to behold* Alexander *Rioting in* Perſepolis, *and* Scipio *walking with his Book in his Hand in the Gardens of his* Villa. *Again, to compare* Scipio *with another Conqueror, and a* Roman. Lucullus *had Triumph'd over* Mithridates, *had render'd his*

Name

Name as terrible in Asia *as* Scipio's *was in* Africa; *and after his numerous Victories retir'd to his* Villa, *as* Scipio *had done. Here the Compariſon holds out longer, the likeneſs is the ſame almoſt to Features and Complexion; but as there is in all Faces ſomething peculiar to diſtinguiſh 'em one from another, So here ev'n in their retirement we find a difference which renders 'em as much unlike one another as* Eſop *and* Alcibiades. *They both have Triumph'd, they both have been ſerviceable in an eminent degree to the State: they are both diſguſted, and retire both to their* Villa's. *They are both Brave, Generous, Lovers of Glory and Letters. But when they are withdrawn from the Publick Theaters where the exerciſe of the Vertues common to them both were only neceſſary, Nature parts 'em in their Retirement, and the one gives himſelf up wholly to Meditation, and the other to Riot.* Lucullus *in his Books is for Pomp and Show, and the extent and ornament of his Library are as much talkt of as the expence of his Suppers, though Fifty thouſand Drachmas, above Twelve hundred Pound Sterling at a time was no rare thing with him. In the following* Lives, Wallenſtein *and* Oliver Cromwell *are alike Bold, Ambitious, Politick in Council, ard undaunted in Action. They are alike Fortunate, and one and the ſame general Character might do for both of 'em; yet when you examine 'em after Nature, you find many diſtinguiſhing Marks. The* German *purſues his Projects by Profuſion and Licence. The* Engliſh-

man

man *by Hypocriſie and Frugality. The one out of the Field is always Feaſting and Revelling, the other Faſting and Praying; and theſe Particular differences are ſuch as General Hiſtory takes no Cognizance of. For, ſays Monſieur* Amyot *in the Preface to his* Plutarch, *it only reports the Actions and Adventures of particular Men, as they have relation to the Revolutions of Empires and States; Whereas Lives* are to declare their Natures, Sayings and Manners. *General Hiſtory* has more regard to Things, *Lives* to Perſons, the former is more Publick, the latter more Domeſtick. The one concerns the outſide of a Man, the other the inſide. *General Hiſtory* is for Events, and *Lives for* Councils,

For theſe and other Reaſons which are to be met with in all the Prefaces to Works of this Kind; And not having in our own, nor in any modern Language a Collection of Lives, *but what is ſhort and imperfect, written with little Judgment or Integrity; we believ'd that all Lovers of Letters and Humanity, wou'd approve of ſuch a deſign in* Engliſh, *if it were perform'd with Care and Impartiality, which we have obſerv'd to the utmoſt of our power, and endeavour'd to make it as uſeful and agreeable as we cou'd from the beſt Memoirs.*

We have been careful in the Choice of the Lives we have written, and intend to write; to take ſuch as will give the Reader the greateſt Light into the General Hiſtory of England, *which by this method we hope to make in ſome meaſure*

measure compleat from the Reign of Vortigern the Britain, to that of our late Sovereign King William.

The Foreign Lives we have choſen, will furniſh us with the moſt conſiderable Revolutions that have happen'd in all the Kingdoms of Europe, from the Ruin of the Weſtern Empire, and the Invaſion of Italy by the Goths, to the Reign of Lewis XIV. the preſent French King. For we do not only propoſe to give an account of particular Perſons, but at the ſame time to make the Hiſtory of Europe as General as poſſibly we can in the compaſs of ſo many Lives as we have written and ſhall write.

We have induſtriouſly avoided in both our Engliſh and Foreign Lives to write of Kings and Princes, when we met with Subjects whoſe Actions ſerve for the Perfection of our Hiſtory, and the Reader will find the novelty and variety of this Method to be equally uſeful and pleaſant.

In the Proſecution of the Work we propos'd to our ſelves Plutarchs manner; but as the World have juſtly a high Opinion of Plutarchs Name and Writings, and as our Reputation is far from being ſo ſettled as his, we have provided more Buſineſs, and made leſs Reflection, never pretending to make Paralels, unleſs the Actions of the Men, faithfully related, ſhow a reſemblance in their Characters. We have taken thoſe Events which ſerve beſt to ſet the Subject of every Life in a natural Light. And by the narrowneſs of the room we allow'd our ſelves for

each

each History, we were necessitated to avoid long descriptions and digressions, and nearly as we cou'd without being Obscure, to observe Brevity, which Cicero *says is one of the most agreeable Beauties of History,*

Nihil est in Historia Pura & Illustri Brevitate dulcius. *Cic. in Brut.*

We have flatter'd none through Favour or Interest, and have consider'd in those Lives where we had not much good to say of the Subject, That we were not at liberty to do as Painters *do in the Pictures of such as have a good likeness and a bad, prefer that which is good. We have shewn both views, and leave it to the Reader from thence to form an Image of the Person.*

We cou'd wish we did not live in an Age when 'tis not Prudent nor safe to speak the Truth at all Times; And in a Nation so divided into Factions, and each Faction so peremptory as to think every thing which does not make for it, to be a Lye. We know that there are Memoirs *enough extant to furnish out a History, in favour of which Party we pleas'd. That there have been Books publish'd many Years after the Death of the Authors, said to be written by Persons who were concern'd in the Civil Wars, which 'tis evident the pretended Authors never saw, or never in the Form they appear in. Such are* Ludlow's *Memoirs, and some others; of which we could give undeniable Proofs, if it was proper in this Place. We have taken no Notice of those Party Histories; which notwithstanding the Voice of a*

Faction,

Faction, we have ſeen in few Years to ſink from very high Prizes, into Waſt-Paper.

We have found Ruſhworth *and* Whitlock, *for all Events during the Troubles, to have moſt the Air of Truth. Eſpecially* Whitlock; *and to him we are extreamly oblidg'd, for the moſt diverting and uſeful Parts, of the following Lives, from the Year* 1625, *to* 1668. *Not that we were wholly confin'd to him. We have examin'd all his Contemporaries, and made uſe of them as we ſaw Occaſion; but his* Memorials *were the Foundation, on which we built the Hiſtories of the Perſons within the Compaſs of his Period; And where we had not private* Memoirs *for thoſe private Events, that were out of his Way, We had Recourſe to Sir* William Dugdale's *Baronage, and other Writings of that Kind, and to publick Prints of which we have been furniſh'd with very large Collections.*

The Earl of Shaftsbury's *Life was attempted before, by two mean obſcure Authors, and wretchedly perform'd. The Duke of* Monmouth's, *had the ſame Fate. We have done our beſt to recover 'em out of ſuch Bad Hands; and as they were Perſons who were the moſt active in Peace and War, of any in their unactive Times, we have giv'n them a Place with the other great Men of our Nation.*

Hiſtory, *is above concerning itſelf with the* Intrigues *and* Cabals *of Factions, farther than the Publick is concern'd in them; and that we might not appear to favour one Side*

or

or another, we have indifferently taken the most Illustrious of Both; without which, our Work wou'd have been maim'd, and broken, and the Reader would have lost some of the most shining Examples of Valour and Vertue.

History, says Pere Rapin *in his* Reflexions sur l' Histoire, est sans cesse corrompuë & même prophanée par la Lacheté des Flatteurs, la plûpart des Historiens étant d'ordinaire Pensionnaires des Cours, *&c. 'Tis perpetually corrupted and even prophan'd by the baseness of Flatterers, The greatest Part of Historians being commonly Court-Pensioners,* &c. *And 'tis our Misfortune, as it has been that of many others who wrote before us. That in the present Disposition of Things, we could not speak the whole Truth of some Persons without Madness. Those who will be so bold must never live to see their Work publish'd; or must expose themselves to the Mercy of a Faction, which we are in no Condition to venture.*

In the Foreign Lives *we have follow'd the Authors who have written particular Histories of* Don John *of* Austria, Alexander Farnese, *the Prince of* Orange, *Admiral* Coligny, *&c. having compar'd them with* Strada, Bentivoglio, Davila, *and other noted Writers of those days. Though we must confess 'tis with great uncertainty that a Man writes after Historians who are engag'd in a National Quarrel. Indeed whoever reads the* 27th. *Section of* Rapine's *Reflexions upon* History, *where he attacks all the Historians from* Herodotus *to* Buchanan

Buchanan, *won'd be very cautious of truſting any of them; but the* French *have a particular Tallent of condemning all Writers except thoſe of their own Nation; and the other Writers of* Europe *do not ſpare them.* Rapin, *calls* Paulus Jovius, *a Penſioner of* Charles V. *and* Voſſius *ſays there are in* De Thouin Multa Falſiſſima & Indigna. *Indeed Parties, as long ago as* Plutarch, *have render'd the Authors of one Side and Nation ſuſpected by the other, and the* Greek *Writers had the ſame Character among the* Romans, *as the* French *have now among the other learned Nations of* Europe.

—Et quidquid Græcia Mendax
Peccat in Hiſtoria. *Juv. Sat.* 10.

Having ſaid thus much for our ſelves, we ſhall not deſire any more favour from the Publick, than ſo generous and laborious an Undertaking deſerves. If there are any errors in Dates or any other Miſtakes, which a Man in the heat of Writing may commit, and being too well acquainted with his own Labours, may overſee in the cool fit of Correction: we hope we ſhall not be cenſur'd as if we had knowingly and deliberately err'd. We are ſenſible that we write in an Age, when a ſordid Mercenary Spleen will provoke ſome, and a baſe Envy inſtigate others induſtriouſly to hunt after Faults, and publiſh 'em, not to diſabuſe the World, but to inſult the Authors. For theſe will not conſider the difficulty of going through many Writers on the ſame Subject, and digeſting the moſt material Actions relating to one Man out of all of 'em into order. Theſe

will

will have no tenderneſs for a ſlip of the Pen, nor a fault of the Preſs. But if they are ſo happy at to light of a 2 *for* 20, *or* 100 *for* 1000, *they have matter enough to ſhow their own exactneſs at the Expence of the Authors Reputation; who perhaps are not guilty of the Error, and if they were, might have found it ſooner than the Critick, had it not been their own. For 'tis too true that the Imperfections of the Productions of the Brain, are often as inviſible to the Father, as thoſe of the Body. We hope we have giv'n little ground to theſe* Cavillers, *and are come to this Reſolution, that as we ſhall be very willing to receive any Information from Men of* Candour and Character. *So we ſhall never give our ſelves the leaſt diſquiet for the Reflections of thoſe who want both the one and the other.*

ERRATA.

VOL. II. Part I. *Page* 4. *Line* 20. *dele* to the King of *Sweden. l.* 31. *dele* of *Sweden. l.* 32. *dele* and. 14. *l.* 11. *r.* to. 15. *l.* 7. *r.* ſpoke out. 16. *l.* 16. *r.* full anſwer. 22. *l.* 28. *r.* Priſoner. 36. *l.* 25. *r.* Judicatories.

Vol. II. Part. II. *Page.* 312. *l.* 18. *r. Baltick* Sea. 321. *l.* 7. *dele* Duke of *Albemarl.* 360. 1. his Oath. 382. 15. ruin him. 396. 29. *Torſtenſon.* 416. 3. fear, but. 455. 13. retreated. 503. 15. *Epernon.* 510. 8. *Conti.* 524. 4. Twelve. 527. 7. Sent. 529. 16. *Perrault* at *Angerville.* 531. 5. *Coignac.* 589. 30. very good. 597. 4. Eighty. 608. 27. to their. 611. 1. the Governour. 614. 12. IV. 15. thought. 18. Prince. 617. 3. other Men. 618. 11. This Treaty. 619. 4. and knowing. 636. 5. *dele* the *Samias* of. 23. thus. 639. 16. had not. 640. 22. moſt. 665. 30. Intereſts. 667. 6. Capuchin. Other literal miſtakes, and errors of the Preſs, 'tis hop'd the Candor of the Reader will excuſe, the Authors of this part of the Work, living at ſome diſtance from *London*, occaſion'd the Errata to be longer than we cou'd have wiſh'd.

THE LIFE OF *William* Lord *Burleigh.*

PART I.

SOME Genealogiſts, Sir *William Cecil*'s Contemporaries, to Compliment him on his Advancement to be Lord *High Treaſurer of* England, pretended to draw his Pedigree from the Ancient *Cecilii* of *Rome*. But thoſe, who did not care to go ſo far back with more reaſon deriv'd him from *Robert Sitſilt*, who in the Year 1092. join'd with *Robert Fitzhamon*, and other *Normans*, in an Expedition againſt

the *Welch*, conquer'd that Part of ~~the Country~~ *Glamorgon*, which now makes the County of *Glamargon*, in South *Wales*, and ſeated his Family at *Alterynnis* in *Glouceſter-ſhire*.

They were very much fallen to decay in the fifteenth Century, *David Sitſilt* or *Cecil*, Grand-father to the Lord *Burleigh* was put to a Trade, and kept a Shop on *London-Bridge*, where he grew rich, and being willing to leave it of in his old Age, he purchas'd an Eſtate at *Burleigh*, near *Stamford* in *Lincoln-ſhire*. He ſettled there, and bought a Sergeant at Arm's place for himſelf, and that of one of the King's Pages for his Eldeſt Son *Richard*, who was afterwards Groom of the Robes, Yeoman of the Wardrobe, and high Sheriff of the County of *Northampton*. He marry'd *Jane* Daughter of *William Heckington*, Eſq; of *Bourn* in *Lincoln-ſhire*, by whom he had *William Cecil*, whoſe Hiſtory we write.

He was born at *Bourn* in *September* 1521. and having been educated at the Grammar-School, his Father ſent him to St. *John*'s College in *Cambridge*: Where in his 20th Year, he marry'd a Siſter of Sir *John Cheek*, Tutor to King *Edward* VI. He remov'd from *Cambridge* to *Greys-Inn*, being deſign'd for the Bar; and when his firſt Wife dy'd, he marry'd *Mildred*, Daughter of Sir *Anthony Cook*, King *Edward*'s School-maſter. This Lady was well verſs'd in the Greek and Latin

Tongues,

Tongues, and tho' he twice married very young, yet it did not interrupt him in the Courſe of his Studies, either at the Univerſity, or Inns of Court. Both of his Wives were deſcended from two of the greateſt Scholars of the Age, and his Relation to thoſe Gentlemen rather incourag'd, than hinder'd him in his Learning. At *Greys-Inn* he apply'd himſelf to the Study of the Law with indefatigable Induſtry, by which means he ſoon became Eminent in his Profeſſion; and when the Duke of *Somerſet* was choſen Protector to his *Nephew*, King *Edward* VI. He took him into his Family, made him Maſter of Requeſts, the firſt who bore that Title in *England*, and in the ſecond Year of that King's Reign, *Cuſtos Brevium* of the Court of *Common Pleas*. In his third Year, *Cuſtos Rotulorum* of *Lincoln-ſhire*. In his fifth, one of the principal Secretaries of State. He was alſo Knighted, Sworn of the Privy Council, and made Chancellor of the Garter.

Thus did his Maſter raiſe him by degrees from a Bariſter at Law, to one of the moſt Honourable Poſts in the Kingdom; and we wiſh Hiſtory could give a better account of *Cecil*'s Gratitude to his Patron. For when the Duke of *Northumberland* by his Intrigues, had outed the Duke of *Somerſet* of the Protectorſhip; 'tis ſaid Sir *Thomas Palmer*, *Crane*, *Hammond* and *Cecil*, were the

Perſons *Northumberland* procur'd to accuſe the late Protector of Felony and Treaſon; of Treaſon, for raiſing Men in the North; and of Felony, for attempting to kill the Duke of *Northumberland*, a Privy Councellor. What render'd *Cecil* ſuſpected to be concern'd in the Duke of *Somerſet*'s fall, was his ſudden enlargement out of Priſon, where he was at firſt confin'd, when the Duke was committed to the *Tower*. His Impriſonment was thought to be only a Colour for the Diſcovery, he privately made of *Somerſet*'s Deſigns. The Duke ſent for Secretary *Cecil*, a few Days before he was apprehended the ſecond time, and told him, He *doubted of ſome ill meaning againſt him*. *Cecil* anſwer'd, *If he were not in fault, he might truſt to his Innocence. If he were, he had nothing to ſay but to lament him.* *Somerſet* was convicted of the Felony by his Peers, and beheaded on *Tower-hill*. His death diſturb'd the young King ſo much, that he never after enjoy'd himſelf, and *Northumberland* remain'd alone at the Head of Affairs.

'Twas he that prevail'd on the King, to ſet aſide the Lady *Mary*, and the Lady *Elizabeth*, his Siſters, by his laſt Will, and call the Lady *Jane Grey*, Daughter to the Duke of *Suffolk*, by *Frances* Daughter of *Charles Brandon*, and *Mary* the French Queen, King *Edward*'s Aunt, to the Succeſ-

ſion

ſion of the Crown of *England*. The Lady *Jane* had marry'd the Lord *Guildford Dualey*, the Duke of *Northumberland*'s fourth Son, and the Duke hop'd by this Alliance to continue in the Supream Power he had Uſurp'd, by impoſing on the King's Youth and Piety. He repreſented to him, that the Lady *Mary* being a Papiſt, 'twould be an injury to Religion, if ſhe ſucceeded to the Crown, and the Lady *Elizabeth*'s Legitimacy being queſtion'd, by thoſe who were againſt Queen *Katherine*'s Divorce, 'twas the King's Duty to prevent diſputes and bloodſhed, by appointing the Lady *Jane* to be his Succeſſor. Sir *William Cecil* oppos'd theſe Councels, with all his Reaſon and Eloquence. But *Northumberland*'s Faction were the Majority, and the King went with them. The Secretary finding he could not ſtem the tide turn'd down with the ſtream, and fell in with the Lady *Jane*'s Party.

The King dying the 6th of *July* 1553. the Lady *Jane* was proclaim'd Queen, and *Cecil* was one of the Lords of the Council, who ſign'd the Letter to the Princeſs *Mary*, requiring her Submiſſion to the Government, which Order ſhe reſolv'd not to obey, for the Country generally came into her. The Earls of *Oxford* and *Bath*, the Lord *Wentworth*, Mr. *Wharton*, Mr. *Mordaunt*, and ſeveral other Gentlemen of Note, waited on her at *Framlingham* Caſtle in *Suffolk*.

The People of that County would come to Terms with her about the Religion newly eſtabliſh'd, which ſhe promis'd to maintain; how ſhe kept her word, the Annals of her ſhort Reign give us a full account of, not much to the Honour of her Memory.

Tho' Sir *William Cecil* was one of the Privy Councellors, who declar'd for the Lady *Jane Grey*; yet Queen *Mary* never reſented it farther, than by diſmiſſing him from his Offices; and towards the latter end of her Reign ſhe often conſulted him. He kept fair with her Miniſters, and was very much reſpected by Cardinal *Pooll*, Biſhop *Tonſtall*, and Sir *William Peters*, Zealous Papiſts, for his great Wiſdom. Yet while he correſponded with theſe Courtiers, who were Queen *Mary*'s Favourites; he at the ſame time was managing the Lady *Elizabeth*'s Intereſt, and ſollicting her Affairs in private. Watching that no foul play ſhould be us'd with her, either as to her Life, or her Right to ſucceed her Siſter.

On the 17th of *Nov.* 1558. Queen *Mary* dy'd in the 44th Year of her Age, having reign'd five Years, four Months, and eleven Days. Queen *Elizabeth* on her Acceſſion to the Throne, did not preſently attempt to reſtore the Proteſtant Religion, which her Siſter had cruelly perſecuted, and had ſhe liv'd longer wou'd have utterly deſtroy'd. The New Queen continu'd half of the Old

Catholick

tholick Councellors, and added to them eight Proteſtants, among theſe was Sir *William Cecil*, whom ſhe admitted again to his place of Secretary of State, and when Sir *Thomas Parry* dy'd, made him Maſter of the Court of Wards.

Her firſt Care was of Religion, and to correct the Liturgy, which King *Edward* put forth in the Vulgar Tongue. For this purpoſe ſhe join'd ſeveral Eminent Divines, and Learned Gentlemen, in a Commiſſion to go through with the Work, which was communicated to no Body but the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, the Earl of *Bedford*, Mr. *Gray*, and Secretary *Cecil*; with whom ſhe truſted the Scheme of the Methods for changing Religion, which were chiefly her own, and her Secretaries contrivance. The Buſineſs was kept Secret, to prevent any ſtirs about Innovations, till matters were ripe for Execution. In 1559. the Queen held a Parliament, of which Sir *William* was a Member, and of all the following Parliaments, till he was Summon'd to the Houſe Peers. The ſame Year he was Unanimouſly choſen by the Univerſity of *Cambridge* to be their Chancellor, which Office had been Vacant ever ſince the Death of Cardinal *Pooll*, who dy'd the Day after Queen *Mary*. In the Year 1560. Queen *Elizabeth*, to the Admiration of all *Chriſtendom*, quietly brought about her great Deſign of ſettling

her own Religion. She remov'd the Popiſh Biſhops, and fill'd their Sees with Proteſtant Divines, many of whom had been Exiles in *Germany* and *Geneva*, during her Siſter's fiery Perſecution.

The *Scots* Queen at this time Uſurping a Title to the Crown of *England*, was aſſiſted by her Kinſmen in *France* of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, who affronted the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador at *Paris*, and ſent Monſieur *de Broiſſy* with a conſiderable Force into *Scotland* to ſupport that Queen in her Pretenſions. The coming of thoſe *French Guiſards*, diſguſted the *Scots* who were Zealous for the new Religion, and the Proteſtants having drawn *Hamilton* Duke of *Caſtleherault*, and the Earl of *Murray*, the Queen's baſe Brother, to their Party, refus'd to own the *Scots* Queen's Authority, and roſe to drive the *French* Papiſts out of *Scotland*. *Knox*, the chief of their Miniſters, wrote a Treatiſe againſt the Government of Women, and excus'd himſelf to Queen *Elizabeth* in ſeveral long Letters. To whom *Cecil* reply'd,

Mr. *Knox*, Mr. *Knox*,

Non eſt maſculus, neq; fæmina omnes enim Unum Sumus in Chriſto Jeſu. Benedictus vir qui confidit in domino. I need to wiſh you no more Prudence than Grace.

W. Cecil.

The

The *Scots* diſpatch'd the Lord Secretary *Maitland*, and ſome Proteſtant Gentlemen, to implore aid of the Queen of *England*. She was ready enough to hearken to them, but Sir *William Cecil* would not engage his Miſtreſs in a War, before he knew on what Terms ſhe was to help them, and to what they pretended. To this end he ſet the Earl of *Northumberland*, their Neighbour, to get what he could out of them. The *Scots* told him, *Their Prayers were for a mutual Amity between the two Kingdoms, and for Confirmation thereof, they vow'd their Wealth, their Fidelity, and their Conſtancy.* Secretary *Cecil*, who knew that Conſtancy was not the diſtinguiſhing Character of that Nation, kept 'em a long while in ſuſpence to ſee how they provided themſelves for a War; which he adviſ'd them not to undertake too raſhly.

But when the *Scots* Queen's Preparations were known, and that the Marqueſs *d'Elbeuf* was raiſing Men for her in *Germany*; the Secretary ſaw 'twas time for Queen *Elizabeth* to interpoſe. The Earl of *Northumberland*, and Sir *James à Crofts*, were order'd to Levy Forces, and advance to the Borders of *Scotland*, and Sir *Ralph Sadler* accompany'd them to aſſiſt in their Councels. The *French* and *Scots* Papiſts threatened to Invade *England*. But the Lord *Northumberland* watch'd 'em ſo narrowly, that

that they durſt not leave their own Country. The Queen commanded Captain *Winter* to Sail with a Squadron of Men of War to *Edinburgh* Frith, and Annoy the Enemy on that ſide; *Winter* deſtroy'd ſeveral *French* Ships, and Landing ſome Marines, drove the *French* Garriſon from the Iſle of *Inckeith*. The Duke of *Norfolk*, and *William* Lord *Gray*, marched with a Land Army into *Scotland*, with whom join'd the Duke of *Caſtleherault*, and the *Scots* Proteſtants. Sir *William Cecil*, and Dr. *Wootton*, Dean of *Canterbury*, attended the Duke of *Norfolk* as far as *Berwick*, where they concluded a Treaty with the Lord *Murray*, and the Lord *Ruthen*, in the name of the *Scots* Confederates, and their Allies, the *Engliſh*. Their united Forces put the *French* to flight where-ever they met 'em, and at laſt beſieg'd them in *Leith*. The *French* King, and *Mary* Queen of the *Scots*, finding they could not ſave their Men but by a Treaty, ſent *Montluc* Biſhop of *Valence*, a very moderate Papiſt, with Propoſitions of Peace, which were taken into Conſideration, and the Preliminaries being adjuſted, the Count *de la Rochfaucault* was join'd in Commiſſion with the Biſhop of *Valence* to bring it to a Concluſion. The Queen of *England* diſpatch'd Sir *William Cecil*, and Dr. *Wootton* into *Scotland*, to finiſh the Treaty with the conſent of her *Scots* Confederates. On the 15th *June*, the Secre-

Secretary, and the Dean arriv'd at *Edinburgh*, as they paſt through the *Engliſh* Camp, they were ſaluted with a Volley of great and ſmall Shot. The 17th of *June*, a Ceſſation of Arms was agreed on till the 22d, and then the Hoſtilities continu'd till the 6th of *July*, when the Lord *Gray*, Sir *William Cecil*, and Sir *Ralph Sadler*, gave order to renew the Ceſſation. The next Day the Peace was proclaim'd in the *Engliſh* Camp, and Sir *Francis Leak*, and Sir *Gervaiſe Glifton*, with two *French* Gentlemen, enter'd the Town of *Leith* to ſee the ſame Proclamation made there. The Articles of the Treaty were;

To renew and confirm the Ancient Treaties between England, *and* France, *and* Scotland.
To ceaſe all Preparations for War.
The Fort at Aymouth *to be raz'd.*
The French *King, and Queen* Mary, *to abſtain from the Arms of* England.
The Scots *Queen to be reconcil'd to her Subjects, the Noblemen, who call'd in the* Engliſh.

Peace being ſettled in *Scotland*, Secretary *Cecil* return'd to *England*, where the Parliament ſometime before had addreſs'd the Queen to Marry. On this Occaſion ſhe made

made that Memorable Speech to them, which ended in theſe Words,

To Me it ſhall be a full Satisfaction, both for the Memorial of my Name, and for my Glory alſo. If when I ſhall let my laſt Breath, it be Engraven upon my Marble Tomb.

Here lieth Elizabeth, *who reign'd a* Virgin, *and dy'd a* Virgin.

But not long after, it ſeems, her Majeſty's Mind was chang'd. For on the 17th of *October* 1561. Sir *William Cecil* moving for a Supply, told the Houſe to incourage them.

That the Queen was by God's ſpecial Providence enclined to Marry, and that ſhe reſolv'd for the Wealth of her Commons to proſecute the ſame.

In 1562. the Secretary made another Motion for a Supply to proſecute the *French* War, which was granted.

Charles IX. the *French* King, at the Inſtigation of the Duke of *Guiſe*, rais'd a bloody Perſecution againſt the Hugonots of *France*, who choſe the Prince of *Conde* for their Head, and took Arms to defend themſelves. They deliver'd the Town of *Havre-de-Grace* in Mortgage to the Queen of *England*, for

for 200000 Crowns which ſhe lent them, and in the Year 1563, the Earl of *Warwick* took poſſeſſion of it for Queen *Elizabeth*. He had 6000 Men in his Army, and intended to join the Prince of *Conde*. But the Duke of *Guiſe* gave the Prince a terrible Overthrow, took him priſoner, and prevented the *French Proteſtants* joining with the *Engliſh*. The *Hugonots* made their Peace the next Year 1564, and abandon'd their Confederates the *Engliſh*; they were ſo ungrateful, that they aſſiſted the *Guiſards* to drive them out of *France*, and the Queen of *England* finding ſhe could not keep the place againſt their United Powers, order'd the Earl of *Warwick* to ſurrender it, and return home.

Mary, Queen of the *Scots*, inſinuating to Queen *Elizabeth*, that ſhe depended entirely upon her, notifies, that the Cardinal of *Lorrain* had propos'd to her the Arch Duke *Charles* for a Husband, but that ſhe would not hearken to it, till ſhe knew her Pleaſure. The Queen advis'd her to marry the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and promis'd her, on that condition, ſhe ſhould be declar'd Succeſſor to the Crown of *England* in Parliament. But the *French* would not hear of it, and the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the Princes of the Houſe of *Lorrain*, govern'd the *Scots* Queen ſo abſolutely, that ſhe did nothing without conſulting them, and having their approbation.

The

The violent methods they ſet her upon, to reſtore the *Popiſh* Religion in *Scotland*, was the ruin of that unhappy Princeſs. The Court went this Winter in Progreſs to *Cambridge*, where the Queen was Entertain'd with fine Treats, and fine Speeches, and Sir *William Cecil*, Chancellour of the Univerſity, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, the Earl of *Oxford*, the Earl of *Warwick*, and other Lords, commenc'd Maſters of Art.

The hopes of marrying the *Scots* Queen, made the Earl of *Leiceſter* zealous for her Intereſt. The Lord *Keeper*, Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, Father to the Lord *Verulam*, and ſome other Courtiers were for the Houſe of *Suffolk*. One *Hales* wrote a Book in the Year 1565, to juſtify the Right which the Line of *Suffolk* had to the Crown, if Queen *Elizabeth* ſhould dye without Iſſue. The Earl of *Leiceſter* accus'd the Lord *Keeper*, for putting *Hales* on writing that Treatiſe. *Hales* was committed to the *Tower*, and *Bacon* in diſgrace, till Sir *William Cecil*, by his Interceſſion with the Queen, reſtor'd him to his former Credit. The Lady *Mary*, youngeſt Siſter to the Lady *Jane Grey*, was living, and the *Proteſtant* Lords would in all probability have prefer'd her in the Succeſſion to the *Scots* Queen, had not Queen *Elizabeth* given a check to her pretended Title, by puniſhing *Hales*, and diſcountenancing

nancing thoſe that promoted it. Secretary *Cecil* kept his Sentiments of the matter to himſelf, and reſolv'd to let no body know 'em, unleſs his Miſtreſs commanded him to deliver his Opinion, which he knew ſhe never would do. For Queen *Elizabeth* was always averſe to hear of a Succeſſor. In the latter end of this Year dy'd Sir *Thomas Chaloner*, late the Queen's Ambaſſador at *Madrid*. He was a very learned Gentleman, and *Cecil*'s intimate Friend. He wrote five Books in Verſe, *De Republica Anglorum Reſtauranda*. He was bury'd in St. *Paul*'s Church with a great deal of Pomp, and Secretary *Cecil* aſſiſted as chief Mourner at his Funeral. In the Year 1566, a Parliament met, and were very hot on an Addreſs to the Queen to marry, or declare her Succeſſor. Sir *Paul Wentworth*, Mr. *Mounſon*, and Mr. *Dutton*, leading Members in the Houſe of Commons, ſpoke in high terms. *That Princes were bound to deſign a Succeſſor, and that in not doing it, the Queen would ſhew her ſelf no better than a Parricide of her Country.* The Emperor *Maximilian* had propos'd his Brother the Arch Duke *Charles*, and got the Earl of *Suſſex*, whom the Queen ſent to *Vienna* to carry the Order of the Garter to the Emperor, to Eſpouſe his Intereſt. The Earl of *Leiceſter* was as much againſt him, and indeed he oppos'd all Offers made by Foreign Princes, for the *Scots* Queen

Queen having marry'd the Lord *Darly*, he advis'd Queen *Elizabeth* to match at home. His Ambition flattering him with hopes, that in ſuch caſe, himſelf would be the Man. Sir *William Cecil* was unjuſtly ſuſpected to be of *Leiceſter*'s Faction, and the Commons were angry with him on that account; believing his Councils kept the Queen from marrying with ſome Foreign Prince, or declaring a Succeſſor. Several Libels were written to defame him, and Dr. *Huic*, the Queen's Phyſitian, who 'twas ſaid advis'd her not to think of a Husband for ſome Phyſical Reaſons, was curs'd by the People. The Houſe of Lords order'd the Lord *Keeper* to pray her Majeſty in their Name, not to keep them in fear, for want of a Succeſſor, but to think of leaving one of her own. She anſwer'd mildly till the end of the Seſſion, and then ſhe could not forbear telling them, *That ſhe found Diſſimulation walk up and down in this Parliament, under the Vizour of Liberty and Succeſſion.* After this, there were no more ſuch Addreſſes made to her, and Secretary *Cecil* was generally condemn'd as one, that too much favour'd the Queen's Diſpoſition not to marry. The Lord *Suſſex*'s, and the Lord *Leiceſter*'s were the reigning Factions, and *Cecil* offended both Parties, by ſiding with neither of them. He minded only his Miſtreſſes buſineſs, and made himſelf very neceſſary to her by his

Vigilance

Vigilance at Home, and his Intelligence Abroad. He was Maſter of the Councels of all the Qneen's Enemies, and Sir *Francis Walſingham*, who was Secretary of State after him, follow'd his Steps in that uſeful and expenſive part of his Office.

In *Scotland* Queen *Mary* was Charg'd, with being Acceſſary to the Murder of her Husband the Lord *Darley*; and what increas'd the Suſpicions of her Subjects was, her Marrying the Earl of *Bothwell*, who actually committed the Murder. The Earl of *Murray* took Arms, and ſeiz'd her Perſon; forc'd her to reſign her Kingdom to her Son *James* the VIth, which ſhe had by the Lord *Darley*, and to Conſtitute himſelf Regent of *Scotland* during his Minority, which ſhe did accordingly in the Year 1567. But afterwards ſhe eſcap'd out of Priſon, rais'd an Army, and diſown'd all that ſhe had done while ſhe was under Conſtraint. The Regent met her, defeated her Army, and drove her out of the Kingdom. The 17th. of *May* 1568. She arriv'd at *Wirkinton* in *Cumberland*, and wrote a ſorrowful Letter, in *French*, to Queen *Elizabeth*, who conſulted with her moſt able Miniſters wnat ſhe ſhou'd do with her; ſome of them were for ſending her Home again, or to *France*. But Secretary *Cecil*, and the major part of the Council, were for detaining her, as Security for the publick Peace. So ſhe was re-

mov'd to *Bolton*, and from thence to *Tutbury* in *Lincolnſhire*, where ſhe was Committed to the Keeping of *George* Earl of *Shrewsbury*. The Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Suſſex* and *Leiceſter*, the Lord *Clinton*, Sir *William Cecil* and Sir *Ralph Sadler*, were ſent down to *Bolton* to Examin the *Scots* Queen, who flatly refus'd to Submit her Cauſe to them, except the *French* and *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors were join'd with them, which *Norfolk*, *Arundel*, *Suſſex*, *Leiceſter* and *Clinton*, thought reaſonable, and only *Cecil* and *Sadler* oppos'd it. *Bothwell*, Queen *Mary*'s Husband, being dead in Exile, the Duke of *Norfolk* enter'd into a Confederacy with ſome *Scots* Lords, to procure the Liberty of their Queen; the Earl of *Murray*, who pretended to reſent her Impriſonment in *England*, and the Biſhop of *Roſs*, her Ambaſſador to Queen *Elizabeth*, Agreed on Terms with the Duke, and got him to Engage his Friends for Queen *Mary*'s Deliverance, on Condition that ſhe ſhou'd Marry him, which ſhe Promis'd to do. The Rumour of *Norfolk*'s good Fortune ſpreading, he fear'd 'twou'd come to the Knowledge of Queen *Elizabeth*, before he had himſelf ask'd her Permiſſion to proceed in it. He therefore ſpoke to the Earl of *Leiceſter* to break the Matter to her. But the Earl ſeeing he was not like to ſucceed with the Virgin Queen, had lately thought again of the Widow, and Excus'd himſelf, till the Earl of *Pembroke*

broke and Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* perſwaded him to do it, but he delay'd it ſo long, that *Cecil*, who knew the Duke's danger, adviſ'd him not to depend upon him but to tell the Queen himſelf. The Duke of *Norfolk* had born a Grudge to the Secretary ever ſince he appear'd againſt the *Scots* Queen at the Conference at *Bolton*, and *Leiceſter* promiſing to recommend his Suit to Queen *Elizabeth*, he omitted ſpeaking for himſelf; the Duke heard no more of it, till a few days after when the Court was at *Farnham* Caſtle, the Queen took him aſide, and bad him *Beware what Pillow he lean'd his Head upon*. She reprimanded him ſeverely, and threatned him if he did not deſiſt, which he engag'd to do. We ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this Hiſtory how he perform'd his Promiſe. The Queen was diſpleas'd with his approving the *Scots* Queen's Refuſal to be Examin'd by her Commiſſioners at *Bolton*. The Share the Secretary had of her Majeſty's Favour, his Influence over her Councils, and his being Suſpected to incline to the Claim of the Houſe of *Suffolk*, rais'd a powerful Party againſt him. The Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Northumberland*, *Weſtmorland*, *Pembroke*, *Leiceſter*, and others, were of it; and they contriv'd ſeveral Accuſations to Charge him with, and deſtroy him.

Next Year 1569, the Piracies committed by the *Spaniards* and *Walloons* on the

Engliſh Trading to the *Netherlands*, occaſion'd Queen *Elizabeth*'s Granting Letters of *Mart* and Reprizal. A great Ship belonging to *Biſcaye*, which had a conſiderable quantity of Silver on board, was driven by the *French* into *Plimouth*, and Sir *William Winter*, Vice-Admiral of *England*, attack'd the *French* Men of War in defence of the *Biſcaye* Man, who fled for Protection into an *Engliſh* Harbour. Soon after Cardinal *Odet de Chatillon*, who had Embrac'd the Reform'd Religion, coming into *England* inform'd the Queen and Council that the Money did not belong to the King of *Spain*. That ſome Merchants of *Genoa* had Lent it to the Duke of *Alva*, to raiſe Men againſt the Proteſtants in the *Netherlands*, which being Enquir'd into, and found to be true, Secretary *Cecill* advis'd the Queen to Borrow the Money her ſelf. *D'Alva* complain'd by *Deſpeci*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador at *London*, whoſe Memorials not proving ſucceſsful, the Governor of the *Netherlands* Seiz'd the Effects of the *Engliſh* Merchants in his Government, and the Queen did the ſame by the Subjects of the K. of *Spain* in her Territories. And thus began the Differences, which 20 Years afterwards brought forth the *Invincible Armada*. The detention of this Money, and the fatal Conſequence of provoking the King of *Spain*, was the Pretence the Lords intended to make uſe of to ruin Sir *William Cecill*. They had once before attemp

attempted it, by repreſenting to the Queen, that the large Remittances made to *France* were ill employ'd; and Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, who wanted the Secretary's Office, ſuggeſted to his Enemies, that if they cou'd once get him into the *Tower*, they might eaſily undo him. But her Majeſty, who was as watchful of her Miniſter, as he was of his Miſtreſs, diſcover'd the Plot, and defeated it.

The Duke of *Norfolk* finding he cou'd not deſtroy the Secretary, whom he fear'd wou'd deſtroy his Match with the *Scots* Queen, left the Court in Diſcontent, the ſame day that the *Scots* and *French* Ambaſſadors ſollicited Queen *Mary*'s Enlargement. Theſe Motions made the Court jealous of ſome Deſigns to deſturb the publick Peace, and *Cecil* reſolv'd to ſearch into the bottom of them. To this end he wrote to the Earl of *Suſſex*, Lord Preſident of the *North*, and *Norfolk*'s particular Friend, to inform the Queen if he underſtood any thing of the Marriage, and he put Sir *George Cary*, the Lord *Hunſdon*'s Son, to ſift what he coud out of *Murray*, who was then in *England*, and very intimate with *Cary*: In the mean time the Duke being frighted with the Report of an Inſurrection in the *North*, which was ſaid to be fomented by him, and advis'd by *Leiceſter*, his falſe Friend, that he wou'd be ſent to the *Tower* if he were ta-

ken, retir'd to *Norwich*. The Secretary had his Spies about him to obſerve his Words and Actions, and give the Queen an Account of 'em. The Privy Council were apprehenſive of his raiſing a Rebellion, and gave out, if he ſtir'd, 'twas determin'd to put the Queen of *Scots* to death; *Heydon* and *Cornwallis*, two Gentlemen of the Country, perſwaded him to throw himſelf on the Queen's mercy, which, either thro' the goodneſs of his Nature, or his Cauſe, he did.

Cary having prevail'd with *Murray* to diſcover the Treaty for the Marriage, and Letters being found conceal'd in Ale-bottles from *Norwich*, importing, That the Duke had proſecuted the Match, and Queen *Mary*'s Liberty, ſince Queen *Elizabeth* Commanded him to Forbear, He was deliver'd to Sir *Henry Nevill*, and ſent Priſoner to the *Tower*. The Biſhop of *Roſs* was Examin'd and Committed, as was alſo the Earl of *Pembroke*. The Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmorland* ſubmitted themſelves to the Lord Preſident of the *North*, who not taking ſufficient Security for their peaceable Behaviour, they broke out into open Rebellion. The Lord *Scrope* joining with them, they Beſieg'd and Took *Bernard* Caſtle. Their Declaration was, *For Reſtoring the Religion of their Fathers*; the Papiſts having no better Argument for theirs, than that

twas

'twas the Faith of their Anceſtors. They rail'd againſt corrupt Counſellors, meaning Secretary *Cecill*, and promis'd to reſtore the Duke of *Norfolk*, with other Faithful Lords, to *Liberty* and *Grace*. The Earl of *Suſſex*, the Earl of *Rutland*, the Lord *Hunſdon*, the Lord *Eure*, and the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, rais'd Forces to ſuppreſs this Inſurrection. The Earl of *Warwick*, and the Lord *Clinton*, brought 12000 Men from the South, to encreaſe the Royal Army. But before they cou'd come up, the two Earls left their Followers, and fled to *Scotland*, from whence the Earl of *Weſtmorland* got over into *Flanders*, where he dy'd a Beggar in the Year 1584, the poor Penſion allow'd him by the Governor not being ſufficient for his Subſiſtance. *Northumberland* was taken, and ſent into *England*, and Beheaded in 1571, and ſeveral other Rebels at *York* and *London*. Yet the very ſame Year *Leonard Dacres*, ſecond Son to the Lord *Dacres*, rais'd new Troubles on the ſame Pretence. The Lord *Hunſdon*, Governor of *Berwick*, march'd againſt him, and his Men, with that Garriſon. He met, and Fought him, near the little River *Gelt*. The Rebel, after a brave Reſiſtance, fled, and croſſing the Seas made to *Flanders*, the Refuge of *Engliſh* Traytors, where he dy'd at *Louvain* in a miſerable Condition. Theſe Commotions haſten'd the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Fate, who tho' he cou'd

not be brought to a Trial by his Peers for want of proof; yet the Court had ſuch juſt Grounds to ſuſpect his Loyalty, that he began to think his Life in danger.

The Regent of *Scotland* returning to that Kingdom, was the 21ſt of *January* aſſaſſinated at *Lithgow*, by ſome of the Queen's Faction. His Death incourag'd the *Engliſh* Rebels, and the *Scots* under *Thomas Car* of *Fernihurſt*, and *Walter Scot* of *Buccleugh*, from whom the Dutcheſs of *Monmouth* is deſcended, to invade *England*, breathing revenge for Queen *Mary*'s Impriſonment. To Chaſtize their Inſolence, the Lord *Suſſex*, the Lord *Hunſdon*, and Sir *William Drury* enter'd *Scotland*, ravag'd and burnt the Towns and Villages belonging to *Scot* and *Car*, deſtroy'd *Buccleugh*, and demoliſh'd *Fernihurſt* and *Craling*, two Caſtles of *Thomas Carrs*. The *Engliſh* Forces joining with the *Scots*, who were in their young King's Intereſt, routed a Party rais'd by the Duke of *Caſtleherault* and the Queen's Faction. And the King's Friends, choſe the Earl of *Lenox*, his Grand-father, to Succeed the Earl of *Murray* in the Regency. *Hamilton* wrote to the Duke of *Alva* for help. The Pope *Pius Quintus* Excommunicated Queen *Elizabeth*, and the *Scots*, *French* and *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors mediated with the Queen of *England*, for Queen *Mary*'s Enlargement. She anſwer'd them with reaſons

ſons for her Detention, telling them the Peril ſhe was in, while the *Scots* Queen had her Liberty, ſaying, *If any of 'em cou'd adviſe any more likely means to avoid the danger, ſhe wou'd willingly hearken to it, and embrace it.*

In the beginning of the Year 1570. the Duke of *Norfolk* confeſt he had offended and err'd, through want of Prudence, and bound himſelf in Writing, never to meddle with the Marriage more without the Queen's conſent, on which he was permitted to retire to his own Houſe, attended by Sir *Henry Nevill*, his Keeper at large. While he was in Priſon, he was terrify'd with fears of the effects of the Queen's diſpleaſure, tho' Sir *William Cecil* to comfort him, often aſſur'd him, that ſince his deſigning a Marriage with the *Scots* Queen, was his only apparent Crime, he cou'd not be try'd by the Statute of the 25th of *Edward* III. and the Statute of *Henry* VIII. which made it Treaſon to marry the Blood Royal without leave, was repeal'd by another of Queen *Elizabeth*. However to put an end to all Jealouſies, and ſecure the publick Peace, he adviſ'd him to marry ſome other Woman. In *October*, the Secretary *Cecil*, and Sir *Walter Mildmay*, by the Queen's Command, who was ſtill apprehenſive of Forreign Invaſions, and Domeſtick Troubles, waited on the *Scots* Queen at

at *Chatſworth* in *Derbyſhire* to come to reaſonable Terms, for accommodating the Differences between the two Queens, and the two Nations of *England* and *Scotland*. When they arriv'd at the *Peak*, they began their Conſultations how Queen *Mary* might be reſtor'd to her former Dignity, Queen *Elizabeth* be ſecur'd, and the ſafety of the young King be provided for.

The *Scots* Queen referr'd them to the Biſhops of *Roſſe* and *Galloway*, and the Lord *Levingſton*. But no Commiſſioners coming from the Regent *Lenox*, and Queen *Mary* refuſing to renounce her Alliance with the *French*, the Secretary would not enter into any farther Conferences, till that Preliminary was adjuſted, and the Deputies from *Scotland* came. So their Conſultations broke off, and the Commiſſioners return'd to *London*. The *Scots* Queen in deſpair, wrote to the Duke of *Norfolk* to pray his Aſſiſtance, and renew'd her Offers of Favour and Affection. She wrote alſo to the Pope, and the King of *Spain*, by *Higford*, the Duke's Secretary, who ſtir'd up his Maſter to depend on the Catholick Princes, and perſwaded him to ſupply Queen *Mary*'s Friends in *Scotland* with Money to keep them in Arms, that they might harreſs the Borders of *England*, and the Duke giving Ear to his wicked Advice, brought his own Head, and his Miſtreſſes

to

to the Block. This Year dy'd Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, *Cecil*'s profeſt Enemy, and in the beginning of the next 1571. her Majeſty in Conſideration of his Fidelity and Services, created him a *Baron* of *England*, by the Name of *William Cecil* Baron of *Burleigh*.

About this time a Treaty of Marriage commenc'd between Queen *Elizabeth*, and the Duke of *Anjou*. The Lord *Burleigh*, and the Earl of *Suſſex* did all they cou'd to diſpoſe her to accept of him for her Huſband. Shewing her the danger of provoking the *French* King by a refuſal, or of the Duke of *Anjou*'s taking a Daughter of *Spain*, which would ſtrengthen the Catholick Intereſt, and ruin the Proteſtant. This Treaty was for a while drop'd, and that of the Duke of *Norfolk* and Queen *Mary* ſtood in the ſame poſture. The *Engliſh* Malecontents haſten'd the Match, *Bidolph* a *Florentine* was diſpatch'd to Forreign Princes to Negotiate with them, he truſted one *Bayly* with the Matter, and deliver'd him Letters in the *Netherlands* for Queen *Mary*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Biſhop of *Roſſe*, and the Lord *Lumley*, made up all in one Packet; which *Bayly* brought over himſelf, tho' *Roſſe* had given Directions, that the Letters ſhou'd be left with the Governor of *Calais* to be forwarded to *England*. *Bayly* was apprehended

hended at *Dover*, and impriſon'd, and the Packet ſent to the Lord *Cobham*, Warden of the *Cinque-Ports*. *Roſſe* had the firſt Notice of the ſeizing the Letters, and dealt ſo cunningly with *Cobham*, that the Packet was deliver'd to him, and Information given to *Bayly* what was become of it. But he confeſt, after he had been a few Minutes on the Rack, the Correſpondence carry'd on abroad by the Conſpirators, that he brought over Letters to ſuch, and ſuch Perſons; *Roſſe* immediately order'd *Cuthbert*, his Secretary, to diſpoſe of the Letters to ſeveral of his Friends, and when the Lord *Burleigh* ſearch'd his Houſe for the Papers, he found nothing, neither wou'd he undergo any Examination, ſtanding on the Priviledge of an Ambaſſador, who, he ſaid, was accountable to none but his Prince. However, he was committed to the Cuſtody of the Biſhop of *Ely*, who remov'd him to his Dioceſs. Sir *Thomas Stanly*, and Sir *Thomas Gerrard*, were impriſon'd. *Henry Howard*, Archbiſhop of *York* Elect, was committed to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and others taken up, and confin'd

At the ſame time a Diſcovery was made, that the Queen of the *Scots* had remitted Money to the *French* Ambaſſador, and he deliver'd it to *Higford*, who convey'd it to *Scotland*, with the Duke's Privacy, and this being

being to Supply the Queen, his Sovereign's Enemies, was the firſt Charge of High Treaſon which cou'd be prov'd againſt him. *Higford* was preſently ſeiz'd, and confeſt the ſending Money to the *Scots*, and *Engliſh* Rebels, who were in Arms againſt Queen *Elizabeth*, and King *James*. The Duke of *Norfolk* was brought up to Town by Sir *Henry Nevill*, and ſent to the *Tower*. The Earls of *Arundel* and *Southampton*, the Lords *Lumley* and *Cobham*, and other Perſons of Quality, his Accomplices, were alſo impriſon'd. The Biſhop of *Roſſe*'s Letters were produc'd, and a Paper call'd, *The Queen of the* Scots *Commentaries*. In which ſhe mentions, that *the Popiſh Religion ſhou'd be reſtor'd by the Duke of* Norfolk. The Duke, when he heard of it, was ſtrangely ſurpriz'd, and cry'd out in a paſſion, *I am betray'd, and undone by my own Confidents*, &c. He pray'd, the Lord *Burleigh*, and the Privy Council to Mediate for him with the Queen, and promis'd to conceal nothing from her. The Biſhop of *Roſſe* was accus'd as the Contriver of the Conſpiracy. Beſides, he had before been guilty of many irregular Actions: He held Correſpondence with the *Engliſh* Fugitives in *Flanders*, with the Pope, and the King of *Spain*, *Phillip* II. who never was a hearty Friend to Queen *Elizabeth*, ſince ſhe refus'd to marry him. He had been her Siſter, Queen *Mary*'s Hut-

band

band, and if ſhe had conſented to be his Wife, ſhe had given the beſt Proof of her own Illegitimacy, by allowing the Marriage of two Siſters, which in the caſe of two Brothers had been ſolemnly declar'd unlawful, and was the Foundation of Queen *Katherine*'s Divorce, and King *Henry* VIII's marrying *Anne Bullen*, Queen *Elizabeth*'s Mother. Tho' there was proof againſt the Biſhop of *Roſſe*, that he had invited the Duke of *Alva* to invade *England*; yet the Queen wou'd not ſuffer him to be call'd to an Account, till the caſe was argu'd by her Civilians, who were of Opinion that *Roſſe* might be puniſh'd, and gave their Reaſons for it in Writing. Accordingly he was brought up from *Ely*, and told by the Council, that they wou'd no longer look on him as an Ambaſſador, but ſeverely puniſh him as he well deſerv'd. The Biſhop reply'd, That *he was the Ambaſſador of an Abſolute Queen, and of one that was unjuſtly depos'd, and had according to his Duty carefully endeavour'd, the delivery of his Princeſs, and the ſafety of both Kingdoms. That he came into* England *with full Authority of an Ambaſſador, and upon publick Warrandiſe of ſafe Conduct, which he had produc'd, and that the ſacred Privileges of Ambaſſadors are by no means to be violated.* The Lord *Burleigh* Gravely and Eloquently ſhew'd him, That *neither the Privilege of an Ambaſſdor, nor*

Letters

Letters of publick Warrandiſe, *cou'd protect Ambaſſadors that offend againſt the Majeſty of a Prince: If they do, that they are liable to penal Actions for it, otherwiſe* Lewd Ambaſſadors *might without Puniſhment, attempt the Lives of the beſt Princes.* The Biſhop poſitively deny'd it; but was over-rul'd, and ſent to the *Tower.* He became more reaſonable in Priſon, and confeſt his treating with the Duke of *Norfolk.* Not long after *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox,* ſummon'd an Aſſembly of Eſtates in *Scotland,* to meet at *Sterling,* where the Nobility of the Queen's Party ſeiz'd on him, and murder'd him; and in his Room the Nobles of the King's Side choſe *John Erskin* Earl of *Mar,* to be Regent. The *French* ſupported the Queen's Intereſt, and Queen *Elizabeth* the King's.

The 16th of *January,* The Duke of *Norfolk* was brought to his Trial in *Weſtminſter-Hall,* at which the Lord *Burleigh* aſſiſted. The Lord *Shrewsbury* was High Steward, and the ſupplying the *Scots* Papiſts, and correſponding with Forreign Powers, being prov'd upon the Priſoner, he was convicted by all his Peers, and Sentence of Death given againſt him. The Biſhop of *Roſſe*'s publick Character ſav'd his Life, ſo he got of for perpetual Baniſhment, and the Duke did not die till the 2d of *June* following.

In

In the Year 1572. The Ratification of the Treaty of *Blois*, between Queen *Elizabeth* and *Charles* IX. the *French* King, was ſworn by the two Potentates. The *French* King took the Oath in the preſence of the Earl of *Lincoln*, Lord High Admiral of *England*, and Ambaſſador for that Occaſion: And Queen *Elizabeth* before the Duke *de Montmerency*, the *French* Ambaſſador, who for the Nobility of his Birth, being the eldeſt Baron of *Chriſtendom*, was inſtall'd Knight of the Garter. *Montmerency* reviv'd the Treaty of the Match with the Duke of *Anjou*, but the difference about the Exerciſe of the Catholick Religion hinder'd it. And now was the fatal Marriage of the King of *Navar*, with the *French* King's Siſter, ſolemniz'd at *Paris*. The chief Proteſtants of *Europe*, as well as of *France*, were invited to the Wedding. The Elector *Palatine*'s Sons: The Earl of *Leiceſter*, and the Lord *Burleigh*, were tempted by flattering Promiſes to be preſent at the Solemnity. 'Twas celebrated in *Auguſt*, and on St. *Bartholmew*'s Day, that horrid Maſſacre was committed, which will be an eternal Scandal to the *French* King, and the *French* Nation, An Action ſo Bloody and Infamous, that even the moſt Profligate of Papiſts are aſham'd of it, and their Authors have decry'd it equally with the Proteſtants. The Lord *Burleigh*, by ſpecial Providence,

did

did not hearken to their falſe Complements, having beſides his own wiſe Caution, Buſineſs of the greateſt Conſequence to keep him at Home. For the Lord Marquiſs of *Wincheſter* dying in a very old Age, his 98th Year, after he had been 20 Years Lord High Treaſurer; the Queen gave the Lord *Burleigh* the Treaſurer's Staff, in which Office he diſcharg'd his Duty, as he had done in that of Secretary of State, with equal Prudence and Fidelity. Sir *Thomas Smith* ſucceeded him as Secretary, a wiſe and learned Gentleman, and ſuch indeed were moſt of the Queen's Miniſters. For, having her Self as much Learning as any Prince of her Days, ſhe incourag'd it in Others; and ſhe was ſo Univerſally belov'd, that to love her only was not thought enough, for a Man to riſe at Court, unleſs he had other Qualifications to recommend him.

In 1573. The Earl of *Moreton*, by Procurement of Queen *Elizabeth* was made Regent of *Scotland*. She ſent a Body of Troops, and a Train of Artillery, under Sir *William Drury*, Marſhal of *Berwick* to aſſiſt him. Queen *Mary*'s Faction having ſeiz'd *Roxborough* Caſtle, and the Lord *Humes*, *Lidington*, and others declar'd for her. With Sir *William Drury* went ſeveral *Engliſh* Gentlemen Volunteers, and among theſe Mr. *Thomas Cecil*, the Lord *Burleigh*'s

Eldeſt Son. The Biſhop of *Roſs* fled into *France*, and endeavour'd to raiſe new Stirs. But the *French* Court was weary of Queen *Mary*'s Cauſe, and never after heartily concern'd themſelves about her, ſeeing her Affairs in as Languiſhing a Condition, as the Queen of *England*'s was in a Flouriſhing one thro' all her Dominions, which was owing in a great Meaſure to the unweary'd Care and Vigilance of her faithful Servant, the Lord *Burleigh*. Who this Year gave full Satisfaction to the Merchants of *Genoa*, for the Money formerly detain'd.

In 1574. The *Netherlanders* were in imminent Danger of looſing the Ground they had got, under the Duke of *Alva*. For *Requeſcens*, who ſucceeded him in the Government of thoſe Provinces, bent his whole ſtrength againſt their Sea Ports, which *D'Alva* neglected. He knew, if he cou'd diſpoſſeſs them of the Cities on the Coaſt, they muſt return to the Obedience of the King of *Spain*. He deſir'd Shiping of Queen *Elizabeth* to help him to reduce the revolted Maritime Towns; but ſhe deny'd him. However, that ſhe might not appear to favour the Malecontents too much, ſhe order'd Count *Vander Mark*, and other *Dutch* Refugees to leave the Kingdom. Theſe *Hollanders* ſeiz'd the Port of *Brill*, and joining with their Country-men, of *Holland* and *Zealand*; they began to form the

the Confederacy: Of which Queen *Elizabeth* was afterwards choſen Protector. Next Year they offer'd her the Sovereignty of thoſe two Provinces, which ſhe refus'd to accept. *Requeſcens*'s ill Fortune, occaſion'd *Don John* of *Auſtria*'s coming into the *Netherlands*, in the Year 1576. and his Correſpondence with the *Scots* Queen, whom he hop'd to Marry, made the Queen of *England* appear more openly and warmly for the *Dutch*, than ſhe had done before, and to deal more ſeverely with Queen *Mary*. All means were us'd to find out *Don John*'s Intrigues with her, and a fair Opportunity ſoon preſented; for *Don Antonio de Perez*, the King of *Spain*'s Secretary, being in diſgrace with his Maſter, eſcap'd out of Priſon, and fled to *England*, where he became intimate with *Walter Devereux*, Earl of *Eſſex*, Father to the Lord *Eſſex*, Favourite to Queen *Elizabeth*. The Lord *Burleigh*, put the Lord *Eſſex* upon *Perez*, to get out of him what was the Catholick King's Deſign, to deliver the *Scots* Queen. *Antonio* told him, 'twas for this end that *Don John* clapt up a Peace with the Prince of *Orange*, call'd the *Perpetual Edict*, which was the firſt Treaty that the *Spaniards* condeſcended to make with the *Dutch*. *Don John* did it to have leiſure, to think of his Miſtreſs in *England*; and have a Strength ſufficient to ſet her at Liberty. To amuſe Queen *Eliza-*

beth, he ſent her the Articles of that Peace for her peruſal, and at the ſame time was privately contriving with the Pope, and King *Philip*, to Seize ſome Places and Ports in *England* and *Scotland*, to Land an Army and join the *Engliſh* and *Scots* Papiſts. He was inſtigated to it by the Earl of *Weſtmoreland*, and other Fugitives, who did then in *Flanders*, as the Followers of the late King *James* did in *France*, magnifie their Party in *England*, tho' with as little Reaſon as King *James*'s Friends had to boaſt of their Intereſt; and both King *Philip*, and King *Lewis*, giving credit to their Informations, were to their coſt always deceiv'd. *Don John* of *Auſtria*'s Hopes ſoon vaniſh'd, and himſelf not long after left the World at the Caſtle of *Namur*. But theſe Domeſtick Plots, and Forreign Confederacies, gave the Court of *England* continual Alarms, and made the Queen's Miniſters begin to conſider, how they might effectually be prevented. The Lord *Burleigh* the next Year marry'd his Son, Sir *Thomas Cecil*, to a Daughter of the Lord *Latimers*, deſcended from the *Nevill* Family, famous in the Reign of *Henry* VI. In the Year after, 1578. the *Scots* King took the Government of his Kingdom on himſelf; he ſent the Earl of *Dumferlin* in an Embaſſy to the Queen of *England*; the Earl among other Things had in Charge to require ſome Lands in *England*, deſcended to King

King *James* by the Death of his Grand-mother *Margaret* Counteſs of *Lenox*, which was refus'd under pretence of injuſtice done the Lady *Arabella*, her Grand-daughter, by the Lord *Charles*, her Son, and *Elizabeth Cavendiſh*, Daughter to the Counteſs of *Shrewsbury*. The Counteſs of *Lenox* was Grand-daughter to *Henry* VII. by *Margaret*, his Eldeſt Daughter, and the Lady *Arabella*'s deſcent from her, gave riſe to the Plot in King *James* the Firſt's Reign, call'd *Raleigh*'s *Treaſon*. The Lord *Burleigh* by the Queen's Order, ſequeſter'd the Lady *Lenox*'s Lands; which he did, as he was Maſter of the Court of Wards. King *James* did the ſame by the Earldom of *Lenox*, which was to deſcend to the Lady *Arabella*, as Heir to the Lord *Charles*; and theſe diſputes occaſion'd a long difference between Queen *Elizabeth*, and King *James*.

In 1579. Monſieur *Simier* came Ambaſſador from the *French* King, *Henry* III. to Negotiate a Treaty of Marriage between the Queen, and the Duke *d'Alencon*, his younger Brother, and ſhortly after the Duke came himſelf unexpectedly to *Greenwich*, where he had ſome private Diſcourſe with her Majeſty, all that were in the Preſence being commanded to withdraw. he did not ſtay long in *England*, and as He came, he went Incognito. The Queen ſeem'd to like his Perſon, and talk more

favourably of the Match than ſhe had done of any other. She order'd the Lord Treaſurer, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, the Earl of *Suſſex*, Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, and Sir *Francis Walſingham*, to confer with *Simier* about the Writings, and Contract of Marriage.

In the Year 1580. Sir *Robert Bowes* was ſent Embaſſador to the *Scots* King, to adviſe him not to truſt Count *D'Aubigny* of the *Stuart* Family, lately arriv'd from *France*, for that he was a Papiſt, and in the *French* Intereſt, but King *James* was ſo far from hearkning to the Queen's Religious Counſel, that he made him Duke of *Lenox*, and refus'd to give Audience to *Bowes*, unleſs *D'Aubigny* was preſent, to which Sir *Robert* wou'd not conſent, and return'd without a Hearing. *Alexander Humes* came preſently from *Scotland* to excuſe the Treatment Sir *Robert Bowes* met with. Queen *Elizabeth* wou'd not ſee him, and the Lord *Burleigh* in a ſhort Speech told him, That *the Queen did not deny to admit him to her Preſence, out of any diſlike to him, whom ſhe found to be very well affected to the* true Religion, *his Prince and Country, but out of juſt Reſentment that her Majeſty was neglected, and the Credit of her Embaſſador contemn'd and deſpis'd; he wiſh'd the King wou'd hearken to the ſound and wholeſome Advice of the Queen, who bare a Motherly Affection towards him,*

and

and not neglect her for his *French* Couſin, *a Subject of the* French *Kings*, and entangled in Marriage with a *French* Woman, a Man addicted to the Popiſh Religion, *and who aſpir'd (the* Hamilton's *being now baniſh'd) to be deſign'd his Heir Apparent next after the King*, he added, *Let the King remember, that there is no Paſſion more violent than Ambition, and let the* Scots *remember* what Troubles the *French* had caus'd in *Scotland, had not the Queen by her Wiſdom and Power prevented them.* With this anſwer *Hume* was diſmiſt, and follow'd by *Randolph*, the Queen's Envoy, to intercede for *Moreton*, the late *Regent*. *Randolph* for his Intrigues at *Edinburgh* was forc'd to fly to *Berwick*; and *Moreton*, whoſe greateſt Crime was his love to the *Engliſh*, loſt his Head for being Privy, as it was ſaid, to the Lord *Darly*'s Murther. The *French* Faction reign'd at the *Scottiſh* Court, and 'twas King *James*'s ill Fortune to Govern always by Parties, and never to fall in with the beſt.

In 1581. *Francis* of *Bourbon*, a Prince of the Blood, Marechal *Segendin*, the Count *de Chateauneuf*, and other Lords, came over in an Embaſſy from the *French* King, to conclude the Match with the Duke of *Alencon*, whom we muſt now call Duke of *Anjou*. The Queen appointed the Lord *Burleigh*, the Earl of *Lincoln*, the Earl of *Suſſex*, the Earl of *Bedford*, the Earl of *Leiceſter*,

ceſter, Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, and Sir *Francis Walſingham*, to be her Commiſſioners to Treat with the *French* Ambaſſadors, and *Anjou* a ſecond time coming into *England*, the Marriage was in ſuch forwardneſs, that the Queen on her Birth-day gave him publickly a Ring off her own Finger, and ſupply'd him with Money for carrying on his deſigns in the *Netherlands*, the *Dutch* and *Flemings* having offer'd him the Sovereignty of thoſe Provinces. The Lords *Burleigh* and *Suſſex* perſwaded her to it. But it broke off on a ſudden, and with theſe Hopes, the Duke of *Anjou*'s new Principality vaniſh'd. This Year the Lord *Burleigh* was made Knight of the Garter, and vigorouſly apply'd himſelf to Root out the Jeſuits, who began to plant themſelves in *England*, well knowing that no State wou'd ever be at quiet, which ſuffer'd them to grow among them. He detected their Villanies, and brought the Criminals to Exemplary Puniſhment. Among the reſt he took the Confeſſion of Dr. *William Parry*, a *Welchman*, Member of the Houſe of Commons, and a Perſon of ſome Learning, who own'd he deſign'd to Stab the Queen. That himſelf, and the *Engliſh* Jeſuits, correſponded with Cardinal *Como* to introduce Popery, and dethrone Queen *Elizabeth*, for which he was Hang'd, Drawn and Quarter'd, the 2d of *March* 1584. ſevere Laws were

were made againſt Prieſts and Jeſuits, who have been cunning enough to evade 'em.

The Queen having taken the *Diſtreſt* States of the United Provinces into her Protection, ſent the Earl of *Leiceſter* with an Army of 1000 Horſe, 5000 Foot, and 500 Gentlemen Volunteers, to their Aſſiſtance. *Fluſhing* was deliver'd to Sir *Philip Sydney*, and Sir *Thomas Cecil* as a Cautionary Town. The Lord *Leiceſter* was not over Fortunate in his Expedition, however, the *Engliſh* Succours put a ſtop to the Progreſs of the Prince of *Parma*, who had otherwiſe broken the Confederacy of thoſe Provinces in their Infancy. The bravery of Sir *Philip Sydney*, Sir *William Stanley*, and Sir *John Burroughs* in the *Netherlands*, ought never to be forgotten, and the Valour of the Soldiers rais'd the *Engliſh* Name, as much as the conduct of the General ſunk it.

The ſame Year 1585. a Conſpiracy was diſcover'd by the Vigilance of the Lord *Burleigh*, carry'd on by *Gifford* and *Hodgeſon* Prieſts, who hir'd one *John Savage* to kill the Queen, which he ſwore to do. *John Ballard*, one of the *Engliſh* Seminary at *Rheims* came privately into *England*, and conſulted with *Mendoza*, the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador, about an Invaſion from *Spain* and *Flanders*. *Maud*, one of *Walſingham*'s Spies travell'd with *Ballard*, and deceiv'd him ſo well

well, that he thought him as hearty in the *Cauſe* as himſelf. He underſtood by *Ballard*'s diſcourſes that the Pope, the King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Guiſe*, had reſolv'd that *England* ſhou'd be invaded. In *England*, *Ballard* went by the Name of Captain *Foſcu*, diſguis'd like an Officer, and having conferr'd with *Savage*, and other Conſpirators, about the Queen's Murder; he broke the Buſineſs to *Anthony Babington* of *Dethick*, in *Derbyſhire*, a young Gentleman of a good Family. *Babington* was an acquaintance of *Thomas Morgan*, Servant to the *Scots* Queen, and of the Biſhop of *Glasgo*, her Embaſſador, who by continual Extolling Queen *Mary*'s Character, had perſwaded the young Gentleman into ſuch an Opinion of her Virtue and Merit, that he reſolv'd to do any thing to ſerve her. Thus on one ſide tempted by hopes of her Favour, and on the other urg'd by the Admonitions of the Prieſts, for he was a violent Papiſt, he enter'd into a Correſpondence with her, and with *Foſcu*. The Lord *Burleigh*, and Sir *Francis Walſingham*, got ſome Intelligence of the Conſpiracy in general, and that the *Scots* Queen was in it, upon which ſhe was committed to the cloſe keeping of Sir *Amias Pawlet*, at *Fotheringhay* Caſtle in *Northamptonſhire*. *Babington*, who was loath that *Savage* only ſhould be truſted with the Aſſaſſination, gets ſix ſtout Fellows,

lows, of whom *Savage* was one, to undertake the *Tragical Execution* of the Queen, as he call'd it.

A Letter from him to Queen *Mary* was found, wherein he writes, That *ſix Gentlemen were made choice of to commit the* Tragical Execution, *and that he himſelf with* 100 *more, wou'd at the ſame time ſet her at Liberty*. *Gifford* reveal'd the Conſpiracy, and the Conſpirators were Seiz'd, Try'd and Executed; among the reſt, one *Charnock* was Hang'd for this *Aſſaſſination Plot*, and one *Ambroſe Rookwood*, for the Gun-powder Treaſon, in King *James*'s Reign. Two Names, *Rookwood* and *Charnock* as infamous ſince, for the *Helliſh* Conſpiracy againſt the Life of our late Sovereign King *William*.

Theſe wicked Machinations, carry'd on by the *Scots* Queen, and her Agents; the perpetual Danger the Queen of *England* liv'd in, by Queen *Mary*'s endeavouring to Arm the Catholick Princes Abroad, and Queen *Elizabeth*'s Subjects at Home to deſtroy her, made her Privy Council adviſe her, to call the *Scots* Queen to an Account for being concern'd in *Babington*'s Treaſon; and with much Perſwaſion ſhe was prevail'd on to grant a Commiſſion to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treaſurer, and others, the chief Officers of the Crown; of the Nobility and

Judges

Judges to try the Queen of the *Scots*, on the Statute of 27th *Elizabeth*, which ſeem'd particularly aim'd at that Princeſs. 'Twas made in the Year before, and is Explanatory of the 25th of *Edward* III. by which Act 'tis Treaſon, to *imagine or Compaſs the Death of the King or Queen to raiſe War in his or her Kingdom, or adhere to his or her Enemies.* Moſt of the Commiſſioners met at *Fotheringhay* the 11th of *October* 1586. They ſent their Commiſſion under the great Seal of *England* to Queen *Mary* to read, ſhe abſolutely deny'd that they had any Juriſdiction over her. The Lord *Burleigh* juſtify'd their Authority, and prov'd that *her Prerogative of Royal Majeſty cou'd not exempt her from anſwering in this Kingdom, he advis'd her to hear what cou'd be objected againſt her, otherwiſe they wou'd proceed as tho' ſhe were abſent.* She ſtill refuſing to own their Authority, and complaining of Injuries done her, the Lord Treaſurer interrupted her, putting her in Mind of what Queen *Elizabeth* had done for her. That ſhe had puniſh'd ſeveral for oppoſing and denying her Title to the Crown of *England*, and prevented her being condemn'd by the Parliament, for endeavouring to marry the Duke of *Norfolk*, for the Rebellion in the North, and other Matters. She took little notice of what he ſaid, refuſing to be try'd by the *new* Law, or to appear before the Commiſſioners.

miſſioners. The Lord *Burleigh* ask'd her, if ſhe wou'd appear to her Trial, provided her Proteſtation were only receiv'd and enter'd in Writing without allowance. To this ſhe yielded at laſt, by the Perſwaſion of Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, Vice Chamberlain to the Queen. The Lord Treaſurer told her, *They wou'd Proceed in the Cauſe to-morrow, whether ſhe came before them or not*, ſhe reply'd, *Examine your Conſciences, be tender of your Honour, God reward you and yours according to your Judgement upon me.* On the Day appointed for her Trial, the Commiſſioners came together in the Preſence Chamber, at the upper End a Chair of State was ſet under a Canopy for the Queen of *England*, beneath it was plac'd a Chair for the *Scots* Queen. Stools were ſet on both Sides the Cloth of State for the Commiſſioners.

On one ſide Sate,

Sir *Thomas Bromly*, Lord Chancellor,
Lord *Burleigh*, Lord Treaſurer,
Earl of *Oxford*,
Earl of *Kent*,
Earl of *Shrewsbury*,
Earl of *Derby*,
Earl of *Worceſter*,
Earl of *Rutland*,
Earl of *Cumberland*,
Earl of *Warwick*,

Earl

Earl of *Pembroke*,
Earl of *Lincoln*,
Viſcount *Mountacute*.

Before the Earls Sate,
The Lord Chief Juſtices,
The Lord Chief Baron.

On the other ſide Sate,
The Lord *Abergavenny*,
The Lord *Zouch*,
The Lord *Morley*,
The Lord *St. John* of *Bletſho*,
The Lord *Compton*,
The Lord *Cheyney*.

Next the Gentlemen Privy Councellors,
Sir *James Crofts*,
Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*,
Sir *Francis Walſingham*,
Sir *Ralph Sadler*,
Sir *Walter Mildmay*,
Sir *Amias Pawlet*.

Before the Lords Sate,
The other Juſtices of both Benches,
The Barons of the Exchequer.

At a little Table in the midſt of the Aſſembly Sate,
Popham Atturney General,
Egerton Sollicitor General,

Gawdy

Gawdy the Queen's Sergeant at Law,
Dr. *Dale*, } Two Civlians,
Dr. *Ford*, }
Two Notaries.

The *Scots* Queen being ſat down in the Chair provided for her, the Commiſſioners took their Seats, and their Commiſſion, and the Act we have mention'd were read. Queen *Mary* enter'd her Proteſtation, and appeal'd to their own Conſciences, whether or no the Act was not made *directly and purpoſely againſt her ſelf.*

The Lord *Burleigh* anſwer'd, *Every Perſon in the Kingdom was bound by the Laws, tho' never ſo lately made, and that ſhe ought not to ſpeak againſt the Laws, that the Commiſſioners were reſolv'd to proceed according to that Law, what Proteſtations or Appeals ſoever ſhe interpos'd.* This great Stateſman had the higheſt Opinion of the Authority of Parliaments, and thought their Acts ſacred, it being a uſual ſaying with him. *He knew not what an Act of Parliament might not do.* 'Tis no wonder then to find him ſo warm, when the Validity of an Act of Parliament was call'd in Queſtion. The *Scots* Queen declaring, ſhe was ready to hear and anſwer any Fact whatſoever committed againſt the Queen of *England*, Sergeant *Gawdy* gave a large account of *Babington*'s Con-

Conſpiracy, and the ſhare ſhe had in it, prov'd by *Babington*'s Confeſſion, and the Letters that paſt between them, atteſted to be hers by her two Secretaries *Naw* and *Curle*. *Ballard* had alſo accus'd her, ſhe charg'd *Walſingham* with practiſing *both against her Life, and her Sons. That ſhe wou'd gladly and freely rather loſe her own Life, than that the Catholicks ſhou'd be ſo afflicted and perſecuted in hatred of her, and undergo ſo heavy Puniſhments for her ſake.* Here ſhe wept, and the Lord Treaſurer reply'd, *No Man that has ſhew'd himſelf a good Subject, was ever yet put to Death for his Religion, ſome indeed have been for Treaſon, while they maintain'd and vouch'd the Pope's Bull, and Authority againſt the Queen.* She ſaid, *I have heard otherwiſe, and read it in Books ſet forth in Print.* Says *Burleigh*, *The Authors of ſuch Books write alſo, that the Queen has forfeited her Royal Dignity.* Then *Walſingham* vindicated himſelf, and the *Scots* Queen ask'd his Pardon. She was charg'd with *conveying her right to the Crown of* England *to the King of* Spain, prov'd by her Letters to *Babington*, *Loagwick* and *Fernihurſt*, atteſted by her Secretaries *Naw* and *Curle*. She excus'd the writing the Letters, ſaying, *'Twas lawful for her to correſpond with Perſons of her own Religion*, but ſhe deny'd the Conveyance. Here the Lord Treaſurer told her, *She knew well enough* Parry *was employ'd to murder the*

Queen.

Queen. To which ſhe reply'd, *I am ſure Penſions have been allow'd to* Patrick Gray, *and other* Scots, *my Adverſaries, as alſo to my Son.* The Lord *Burleigh* anſwer'd, *When the Revenues of* Scotland, *were by the Negligence of the Regents much diminiſh'd and empair'd, the Queen confer'd ſomewhat out of her noble Bounty upon your Son, the King, her near Kinſman.* Her alienation of the Kingdom to the *Spaniard* was farther prov'd, by her Letters to the Lord *Paget*, and *Charles Paget*, Fugitives in *Flanders*, and to *Mendoza*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador. *Curle* confeſt it, and that *Allen*, an *Engliſh* Cardinal, and *Parſons*, the Jeſuit, manag'd the Buſineſs at *Rome*. The next Day ſhe proteſted again, complain'd of her Uſage, and appeal'd to God, *For* (ſhe ſaid) *'twere extreme Folly to ſtand to their Judgment, whom ſhe ſaw ſo evidently and notoriouſly to be arm'd with Prejudice againſt her.* The Lord *Burleigh* reply'd, *Whereas I bear, a double Perſon and Quality* ~~of a~~ *one* Commiſſioner, the *other of a* Councellor, *hear me firſt a few words as I am a* Commiſſioner, *your Proteſtation is recorded, and a Copy thereof ſhall be deliver'd you. Our Authority is granted us under the Queen's Hand, and the great Seal of* England, *from which there lies no Appeal, neither do we come with Prejudice, but to judge according to the exact Rule of juſtice. The Queen's learned Council do aim at nothing elſe, but*

that the truth may come to light, how far you have offended againſt the Queen's Perſon. Full power is given us to hear, and examine the Matter although you were abſent, yet were we deſirous you ſhou'd be preſent, leaſt we might ſeem to have derogated from your Honour; we purpos'd not to charge you with any thing elſe, but what you were Privy to, or have your ſelf attempted againſt the Queen's Perſon. The Letters which have been read, were read to no other purpoſe, but to make out your offence againſt the Queen's Perſon, and the things relating to it, which are ſo interlac'd with other Matters, that they cannot be ſever'd. The whole and entire Letters therefore, and not Parcels pick'd out here and there have been openly read, becauſe the Circumſtances do make appear what things you dealt with Babington *about.* She interrupted him thus, *The Circumſtances may be prov'd, but not the Fact,* adding, *If her Papers had not been taken away, and ſhe had her Secretaries with her, ſhe cou'd the eaſilier have confuted the things laid to her Charge.* The Lord Treaſurer aſſur'd her, *Nothing ſhou'd be objected ſince the* 19*th of* June, *and the Seizure of your Papers, which wou'd do you no good, ſeeing your Secretaries, and* Babington *himſelf, without putting to the Rack have affirm'd, That you ſent thoſe Letters to* Babington, *which tho' you deny, yet whether more Credit be to be given to an Affirmation, than to a Negation, let the Comiſſioners*

oners judge. To return to the Matter; this which follows, I ſpeak to you as a Councellor, *many things you have propounded time after time concerning your Liberty, that they have fail'd of Succeſs, 'tis your Fault, or the* Scots, *not and the Queen's, for the Lords of* Scotland *flatly refus'd to deliver the King in Hoſtage, and not when the laſt Treaty was holden concerning your Liberty,* Parry *was ſent privately by* Morgan, *a Dependant of yours to murder the Queen.* Ay, ſays the *Scots* Queen, *You are my Adverſary.* The Lord *Burleigh* ſaid, *Yes, I am Adverſary to all Queen* Elizabeth's *Adverſaries; but enough of theſe Things, let us proceed to other Proofs;* which ſhe refuſing to hear. The Lord Treaſurer anſwer'd, *Yet we will hear them.* Queen *Mary* reply'd, *And I alſo will hear them in another place, and defend my ſelf.* Her Letters to the *Pagets,* Cardinal *Allen* and *Mendoza* were produc'd, which her Secretary own'd ſhe had written in Cyphers. She cou'd ſay little for her ſelf, about her Conveyance of her Right to the Crown to the *Spaniard*; but that, what ſhe did was for her Liberty, that a Book had been ſent her from Abroad to juſtifie the *Spaniards* Title, and that her diſapproving it, had made her many Enemies among the Catholicks. The Sollicitor General *Egerton,* put the Commiſſioners in mind what wou'd become of them; their Honours, Eſtates and Poſterities, if the

Kingdom were ſo convey'd. The Lord *Burleigh* then ſhew'd that the Kingdom of *England* cou'd not at all be convey'd, but was to deſcend by Right of Succeſſion according to Law, and ask'd her, If ſhe had any thing more to ſay. She requir'd to be heard in a full Parliament, or in Perſon with the Queen and Council, and riſing up very Majeſtically, ſhe had ſome private Diſcourſe with the Lord *Burleigh*, *Hatton*, *Walſingham*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, a part by themſelves. Then the Court adjourn'd to the 20th of *October*, when all the Commiſſioners, except the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Warwick*, who were Sick, met in the Star Chamber at *Weſtminſter*, where *Naw* and *Curle*, vivâ voce, *Voluntarily, without Hope or Reward, Avow'd, Affirm'd and Juſtify'd, all and every, the Letters and Copies of Letters, before produced to be True and Real*, on which Judgment was pronounc'd againſt *Mary* Queen of the *Scots*, confirm'd by the Commiſſioners Seals and Subſcriptions. Thus ended this Famous Trial, the Crimes laid to her Charge being as fairly and fully prov'd, as 'tis poſſible for any Crime to be. She was a rigid Papiſt, and ſince her Impriſonment, Devout and Religious in her way.

On the 29th of *October*, the Lord Mayor, Sir *George Barne* came to the Exchequer Bar as uſual to take the Oath, and return'd

to

to *Guild-Hall* thro' *Ludgate*, which Gate was lately rebuilt at the City Charge, and open'd this Day. The Lord Treaſurer firſt enter'd it on Horſe-back, accompany'd with the Lords of the Councel, to Dine with the Lord Mayor.

The ſame Day the Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *Burleigh*, and the Earl of *Derby*, repreſenting her Majeſty by Commiſſion, granted them by the Queen, to open the Seſſion. In this Parliament, the Lord *Paget*, *Charles Paget*, and other Fugitives, were Outlaw'd; and the Lords Addreſt the Queen, the Lord Chancellor ſpeaking for them, that the Sentence againſt *Mary* the *Scots* Queen might be publiſh'd, and farther Direction given as was requiſite in ſo weighty a Caſe, according to the purport and intent of the Statute of of 27th *Elizabeth*. They repreſented the juſtice of the Sentence, and the Danger of ſuſpending the Execution to her Majeſty's Perſon and Government, and the Proteſtant Religion. The 12th of *November*, Sergeant *Puckering*, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons waited on the Queen at *Richmond*, with the ſame Meſſage. The Queen's anſwer was for Mercy, but ſhe juſtify'd the Sentence of the Commiſſioners. Her delays occaſion'd a ſecond Addreſs from both Houſes, praying her Majeſty to *conſider*

her Safety cou'd not be ſecur'd while the Scots *Queen liv'd*, and repeating their Reaſons for Execution, to which ſhe reply'd as to the firſt; but in ſhort, the laſt part of her Speech, tho' worded very ambiguouſly, gave them to underſtand, that theſe Addreſſes were a pure piece of Formality to ſave Decencies, and not to injure the Queen's Charecter of Clemency. She told them, *If I ſhou'd ſay, I will not do what you requeſt, I might ſay perhaps more than I intend, and if I ſhou'd ſay, I will do it, I might plunge my ſelf into as bad inconveniences as you indeavour to prevent me from*, meaning a War with *Spain*, *Scotland* and *France*. But the Parliament were ſoon ſatisfy'd in their Prayers, and Queen *Mary*'s Sentence ſolemnly proclaim'd. The Lord *Buckhurſt*, and Mr. *Beal*, Clerk of the Council, were order'd to give her notice of it, and that 'twas approv'd and confirm'd in Parliament, which News ſhe ſeem'd to receive with Joy.

King *James*, her Son, ſent *Keith* and *Nevill* to mediate for her, *l'Aubeſpine*, the *French* Ambaſſador, did the ſame, and both *French* and *Scots* without ſucceſs; the *French* Man pretended there was no Preſident of the Execution of a Soveraign Prince. 'Twas anſwer'd, *A Man offending in another's Territories and there found, is puniſh'd in the place of his Offence, without regard of his Dignity*,

nity, Honour or Privilege; and that this was both Juſtifiable by the Laws of England, *and by the Examples of* Licinius, Robert King *of* Naples, Conradine, Elizabeth *Queen of* Hungary; Joan *Queen of* Naples *and* Dejotarus. *For whom* Cicero *pleading ſaid, 'Twas no Unjuſt thing that a King ſhou'd be found Guilty, and put to Death, tho' it were not uſual.* While theſe things were in deliberation, *l'Aubeſpine*, a Man wholly devoted to the Faction of the *Guiſes*, ſince Arguments wou'd not prevail, reſolv'd to try whether Plots wou'd, and dealt with one *Stafford* to Aſſaſſinate Queen *Elizabeth*. *Trappy*, his Secretary, made *Stafford* large Offers of Honours and Reward if he wou'd undertake it. *Stafford* abhorr'd the Propoſal, however, out of zeal to the *Cauſe*, he recommended *Moody*, a Villain in the common Goal of *London*, to do the Murder. *Trappy* went with *Stafford* to the Priſon, and there contriv'd with *Moody* how to take off the Queen by Poiſon, or Gunpowder put ſecretly under her Bed. *Trappy* lik'd neither the one way nor the other very well, and wiſh'd he cou'd meet with another ſuch reſolute Fellow as the *Burgundian*, who Stab'd the Prince of *Orange*. *Stafford* diſcover'd the whole Matter to the Council, and *Trappy* was ſeiz'd as he was making his Eſcape to *France*. He confeſs'd all he knew, and on his Confeſſion the Ambaſſador himſelf was ſent for

to the Ld *Burleigh*'s Houſe, where were preſent, by the Queen's Order, the Ld Treaſurer, the E. of *Leiceſter*, Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, and Mr. *Daviſon*, Secretary of State. They Charg'd him with being an Accomplice in *Moody*'s Treaſon, and call'd in *Trappy* to Witneſs it to his Face. *l'Aubeſpine*, with the uſual Airs of his Countrymen, having heard the Charge frown'd, and told them, *That as he was the King's Ambaſſador; He wou'd hear no Accuſation in prejudice of the King, his Maſter, and againſt the Privilege of Ambaſſadors.* *Stafford*, falling upon his knees, proteſted the Ambaſſador was the firſt that mention'd the Deſign to him, which *l'Aubeſpine* thought to turn off by throwing himſelf into a Paſſion, and railing at his Accuſer. The Lord *Burleigh*, with his accuſtom'd moderation, reprov'd him, *for being Conſcious or Acceſſary to ſo foul a Fact, both by his own words*, for he own'd *Stafford* at firſt propos'd it to him, *and by* Trappy's *Confeſſion.* He anſwer'd, *Had he been Acceſſary to it, yet ſeeing he was an Ambaſſador, he ought not to diſcover the ſame to any but the King, his Maſter.* The Lord Treaſurer reply'd, *If an Ambaſſador ſhou'd not make ſuch a Diſcovery, when a Prince's Life is, by wicked Contrivances, brought into danger, (which is a thing controverted) yet 'tis a Chriſtian's duty to repel and hinder ſuch Injuries, and that where the ſafety not only of a Prince, but alſo of any*

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private Chriſtian is concern'd. This the Ambaſſador deny'd, and to back it, Inſtanc'd the Example of another Ambaſſador in *Spain*, a *Frenchman*, who having Knowledge of a Deſign on the Catholick King's Life, reveal'd it, not to the King of *Spain*, but to the King, his Maſter, and was Commended by him for it. *Burleigh* gravely Advis'd him, *to beware how he committed Treaſon any more, or forgot the Duty of an Ambaſſador, and the Queen's Clemency, who ſhou'd not, by puniſhing a bad Ambaſſador, prejudice the Good, and that he was not Acquitted from the Guilt of the Offence, tho' he eſcap'd the Puniſhment.*

Theſe helliſh Conſpiracies haſten'd the *Scots* Queen's death. The Lord Treaſurer, and the Privy Councellors, ſo often ſuggeſted to Queen *Elizabeth*, the danger ſhe wou'd be in while the Execution was defer'd, that at laſt ſhe deliver'd a writing to *Daviſon*, ſign'd with her own Hand, commanding a Warrant under the great Seal of *England* to be drawn up for Execution, and lie in readineſs, which *Daviſon* got done accordingly. The next Day her Mind chang'd, and ſhe ſent *William Killegrew* to forbid the drawing of the Warrant; which new Order came too late, for the Seal was affix'd, and the Warrant given to the Earls of *Kent*, *Derby* and *Cumberland*, to ſee it Executed. Theſe Lords poſted to *Fotheringhay*,

ringhay, and went immediately to the *Scots* Queen, then in Cuſtody of Sir *Amias Paulet*, and Sir *Drue Drury*, to inform her of the ſad Occaſion of their coming. On the 8th of *February* 158$\frac{6}{7}$. ſhe was privately beheaded in the Caſtle, dying a great Bigot to the Romiſh Faith, and feign wou'd ſhe have had it thought that her Religion was the true reaſon of her Death. But all the Papiſts who have ſuffer'd pretended to Martyrdom, tho' they dy'd for Treaſon and Murder. Queen *Elizabeth* to colour the Matter, affected a wonderful Sorrow, reprov'd the Lords of the Council, and turn'd *Daviſon* out of his Office. Tho' ſhe had, as he ſays in his Letter to his Colleague, Sir *Francis Walſingham*, *After the departure of the* French *and* Scottiſh *Ambaſſadors, of her own Motion, commanded him to deliver her the Warrant for Executing the Sentence on the Queen of* Scots, tho' when he deliver'd it, *She readily ſign'd it with her own Hand, and when ſhe had ſo done, order'd it to be ſeal'd with the great Seal of* England, *and ſaid, in a jeſting manner, go tell all this to* Walſingham, *who is now Sick, I fear he will Die for Sorrow when he hears it.* Speaking ironically, for *Walſingham* was always too great a Lover of *England*, and the Proteſtant Religion, to grieve much for the juſt fate of the greateſt Enemy of both. Be it as it will, *Daviſon* muſt be ſacrific'd to

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the *French* and *Scots* King's Reſentments; he was ſummon'd to anſwer in the Star Chamber, for *deceiving* her Majeſty in Executing a Warrant which ſhe had Sign'd, yet he was Fin'd and Impriſon'd. The Lord *Gray* appear'd heartily for him at his Trial, and vindicated what he had done, cloſing his Eloquent and bold Speech, which he made to the reſt of the Lords, who were by Commiſſion to try *Daviſon*, with theſe Words, *Whatſoever, either Puniſhment or Fine you lay upon him ſhall not diſpleaſe me, but be ſure he ſhall never with me loſe the Eſteem of a Good and Honeſt Man.* The Lord Treaſurer, knowing *Daviſon*'s fall was neceſſary to appeaſe ſome Forreign Princes, confeſt; he believ'd her Majeſty never abſolutely reſolv'd to have Execution done. *Daviſon* anſwer'd for himſelf mildly and reaſonably, that he hop'd they wou'd not urge the Matter any farther; but remember, *he wou'd not conteſt with the Queen, to whoſe Conſcience, and to the Commiſſioners Cenſure, he wholly ſummitted himſelf.* Thus fell this faithful Servant to Queen *Elizabeth*, a fatal Example of the Danger of obliging a Prince, in ſuch Actions as are not fit for the Sovereign to appear in. The Lord *Burleigh* had been himſelf before check'd, for haſt'ning the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Death, ſo unwilling was this Princeſs to have any blame

blame lye at her Doors, if she cou'd lay it else where; poor *Davison* dy'd in want, being very sparingly reliev'd by his Mistress. The *Scots* King breath'd nothing but Revenge for a few Months: But the Court of *England* were not much alarm'd at his Threats, and Queen *Elizabeth*'s Ministers knew how to quiet that Prince by the Friends they had at *Edinburgh*.

The next Year was famous for the Defeat of the *Invincible Armada*. The Lord Treasurer's Sons, Sir *Thomas*, and Sir *Robert Cecil*, fitted out two Ships at their own Charge, and join'd the Navy Royal, Volunteers in so Righteous a Cause, while their Father with his Counsels, and Service at Court, conducted and forwarded the Business both at Sea, and in the Field.

No sooner was this terrible Storm, which threaten'd the Protestant Religion in general, and this Nation in particular, blown over, but the People fell to their old Disputes, about Matters of Ceremony in Church-worship, and the Kingdom was wholly divided between *Prelatists* and *Puritans*, *high Church Men*, and *low Church Men*, while the Papists privately fomented the Divisions among Protestants, and carry'd on their own pernicious Designs. The late Archbishop Dr. *Grindall*, was a Man of much Moderation and Tenderness to such as differ'd from the Nation-

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nal Church purely for Conſcience ſake; when he dy'd, Dr. *Whitgift* ſucceeded him in the See of *Canterbury*; he was a rigid Conformiſt, and ſevere in his Eccleſiaſtical Dicipline; he turn'd out ſeveral Miniſters, whom Dr. *Grindall* admitted into the Church, for refuſing to come up to his Practice in the Forms of Worſhip, and was for bringing about a general Conformity by Force. Moſt of the Biſhops and Clergy fell in with him. But Sir *Nicholas Bacon* Lord Chancellor, the Lord *Burleigh*, Sir *Francis Walſingham*, and the Stateſmen were for milder Methods. They thought a People ſo jealous of their Liberties, as the *Engliſh*, wou'd never be reconcil'd in Religious Matters, by Perſecution or Oppreſſion. Mr. *Travers*, the Lord Treaſurer's Chaplain, had been bred at *Geneva*, where he became intimate with *Beza*, *Calvin*'s Diſciple, and *Burleigh* himſelf was cry'd out upon by the *high Church* Party as a *Puritan*. All the Complaints made by the Miniſters that were outed of their Livings were addreſt to him, and both himſelf, and the Privy Council, wrote often to the Archbiſhop to abate of his rigour. His interceeding for them, offended the Clergy, and rais'd a loud Clamour againſt him, which wou'd have ruin'd him with his Miſtreſs, if ſhe had not known him by an Experience of 30 Years Miniſtery, to be the greateſt Politi-

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tian of his Age. In her own Opinion, ſhe was for ſtrict Church Diſcipline; however, ſhe always employ'd Men of both Parties without Diſtinction. Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton* was the moſt conſiderable Perſon in Place and Favour, who ſided with *Whitgift*, and Him the Lord *Burleigh* procur'd to be made Lord Chancellor, that, by his abſence from Court, and the troubleſome diſcharge of ſo great an Office, for which he, and the Courtiers of the *Puritan* Faction, thought him not very fit, ~~for~~ the Queen's Eſteem of him might diminiſh. *Hatton* made his firſt Appearance at *Weſtminſter-Hall*, in *Eaſter* Term this Year; he rode thither from his Houſe in *Holborn* in greater State than ever any Lord Chancellor did before him, being attended by the Lord Treaſurer, and moſt of the Lords of the Council; he continu'd to appear in his Station with Magnificence, and diſappointed his Enemies, who expected that his Ignorance in the Law wou'd confound him, but that want he ſupply'd by Equity and Juſtice.

When the fears of a *Spaniſh* Invaſion were over, and the *Armada* every where beaten and diſperſt. The Queen, accompany'd by her Privy Council, went to St. *Paul's* Church in Triumph to return God thanks for bleſſing her Arms. And now ſhe gave Order for Trying thoſe Perſons who were charg'd

charg'd with Correſponding with the *Spaniards*. The Earl of *Arundel* was firſt brought to the Bar before his Peers, *Henry* Earl of *Derby*, was Lord High Steward for this purpoſe, and the Lord *Burleigh* aſſiſted at his Tryal. He, and all the reſt, after Evidence had been heard for the Crown and the Priſoner, Unanimouſly Condemn'd him, which was done in Terror to the Papiſts, tho' the Queen ſpar'd his Life. The expectation of a *Spaniſh Deſcent* gave the Earl of *Leiceſter* an Opportunity to ſhew his vigilance and readineſs to ſerve her Majeſty, which rais'd him yet higher than ever in her Eſteem. He was at ſuch a height of Favour, that ſhe reſolved to make him Vice-gerent of *England* and *Ireland*, and his Pattent, which was drawing, had paſt the Seals, if the Lord *Burleigh* had not remonſtrated to her, that 'twas by no means fit to confide ſo great Authority in a Subject.

In the Year 1590, the Queen looking into her Treaſury, found ſhe had been out vaſt Sums to Forreign Powers, and one *Carmarden*, a Fellow who underſtood the Cuſtoms very well, Informing her, that they were Under-rented by the Farmer *Thomas Smith*: She rais'd him from 14000 Pounds a Year, to 40000 Pounds, and afterwards to 50000 Pounds Sterling, *Burleigh*, *Leiceſter* and *Walſingham*, for what ends we cannot gueſs,

gueſs, unleſs 'twas for their private Advantage, were againſt raiſing the Farm, and order'd the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber not to ſuffer *Carmarden* to come to Court, or near her Majeſty's Perſon, pretending 'twas a diſgrace and diſparagement of her, and her Councel, if ſhe ſhou'd hearken to the Accuſation of ſo inconſiderable an Informer. The Queen, who abhorr'd all Extortions and Extraordinary Exactions, told them, *'Twas the Duty of a Prince to hold an equal hand over the Higheſt and Loweſt. That ſuch as accuſe Magiſtrates and Counſellors raſhly, without being able to prove it, are to be puniſh'd. Thoſe who Accuſe 'em juſtly are to be heard. That ſhe would not endure the Farmers of the Cuſtoms ſhou'd, like Horſe-Leeches, ſuck themſelves Fat upon the Goods of the Common-Wealth, while the poor Treaſury wax'd Lean, and was Exhauſted. Nor that the Treaſury ſhou'd be Cramm'd with the Spoils and Polings of the Poorer ſort.* Tho' ſhe gave them this ſharp Anſwer, ſhe never queſtion'd the Lord *Burleigh*'s Fidelity in the Diſcharge of his Office. For, had he not ſerv'd her Well and Faithfully, ſhe cou'd not have born the Expence ſhe was at, of Keeping up a Royal Fleet at Sea, and an Army in *Ireland*, another in *Holland*, and a third in *France*. She Lent 226058 Crowns to *Henry* the IVth beſides Maintaining 9 or 10000 Men to

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Aſſiſt him, in Conjunction with his Friends in *France*, againſt the Faction of the *Guiſes*. Every two Months it coſt her 385000 Florins for the Service of the *States General* of the *United Provinces*. So much are the Houſe of *Bourbon*, and the *Dutch*, indebted to this glorious Queen, and the *Engliſh* Nation, without whoſe Aſſiſtance and Protection the *French* King *Lewis* the XIVth. the greateſt Enemy *England* has in the World, had never been in a Condition to hurt her, nor the *Dutch* been able to defend themſelves from the Power of *Spain*. This Charge, ſays *Cambden*, ſhe ſupported *by her Frugality, and the Lord* Burleigh's *care of the Revenue*. He adds, *'Twas admir'd by all how ſhe cou'd go thro' it, ſeeing ſhe was in no Man's Debt*. As great a Man as Mr. *Cambden* was, and as fine a Hiſtory as his *Life of Queen* Elizabeth is, he's not always to be truſted, and when he writes of the Court, either of that Queen, or of King *James*; his Partiality is ſo viſible, that a Man cannot depend on having a fair account of Matter of Fact, or, at leaſt he will find it ſet in the beſt Light, and to the moſt advantage of the Princes he ſerv'd. *Sanderſon*, in his Life of King *James*, ſays of the Expence ſhe was at, which he took from Mr. *Cambden*, theſe Sums were incredible, but indeed this was the way to dye Poor, *For ſhe was much in Debt*. Let the Reader be-

lieve, as he pleaſes, theſe Hiſtorians were Contemporaries, and both Men of Merit and good Intelligence.

The Lord *Burleigh* did not take more care of the Treaſury, than he did of Religion, and the growth of the *Engliſh* Seminaries Abroad, the Plots of the Recuſants at Home, made it neceſſary to put out a ſevere Proclamation againſt thoſe *that ſhou'd Harbour any one whatſoever, but upon enquiry firſt made who he was*; ſeveral hard Expreſſions were in it, of which the Papiſts believ'd *Cecill* was the Author, and Pamphlets reflecting on his Miniſtry were daily handed up and down by them. They commended *Hatton* for his Moderation; ſo early, it ſeems, there was a good Correſpondence between ſome Rigid Church-men and the Catholicks. *Hatton* dy'd the day the Proclamation was Publiſh'd, the 20*th* of *September* 1591. of a Diabetes. *Cambden* imagins his Death was forwarded by his Grief for the Queen's exacting rigorouſly of him, a vaſt Sum of Money, Collected out of firſt Fruits and Tenths, of which he had hopes to have gotten a Grant; the Queen had rais'd him, by degrees, from one of her Band of Penſioners, to be Lord High Chancellor of *England*, and Knight of the Garter. On his Death the Seals were, for ſome Months, put into the Hands of the Lord *Burleigh*, the Lord *Hunſdon*, the Lord *Cobham*

ham, and the Lord *Buckhurſt*, with Commiſſion to Seal all the Writs in *Chancery*, and Mr. Juſtice *Clinch*, Mr. Juſtice *Gawdy*, Mr. Juſtice *Windham*, and Mr. Juſtice *Periam*, were to hear Cauſes till her Majeſty gave the Great Seal to Sir *John Puckering*, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, with the Title of Lord Keeper. This Year Sir *Robert Cecill*, the Lord *Burleigh*'s Son, was made Privy Councellor, and employ'd in State Affairs to Aſſiſt and Relieve his Father.

In 1592. Sir *John Perrot* returning from the Government of *Ireland*, was Accus'd by two *Iriſh-men*, whom *Hatton*, his Enemy, had caus'd to be ſent over to Charge him with treaſonable Expreſſions, and other Offences. The Lord *Burleigh*, now *Hatton* was Dead, labour'd to prevent *Perrot*'s Tryal, believing him Innocent; but the Malice of his Adverſaries Prevail'd, and a Commiſſion was granted to the Lord *Hunſdon*, the Lord *Buckhurſt*, Sir *Robert Cecil*, Sir *John Forteſcue*, Sir *John Woolley*, and ſome of the Judges, to Try him. The Evidence againſt him were *Denis O Roghan*, an *Iriſh* Marry'd Prieſt, and *Walton*, a Man of *Proſtituted Credit*. Sir *John Perrot* defended himſelf a whole day againſt *Popham*, the Queen's Attorney, a *Cenſorious*, *Severe*, *or rather Cruel Man*, and the reſt of the Lawyers. He was at laſt brought in Guilty

of Treaſon, Sentence of Death was put off for 20 Days, and then his Enemies of *Hatton*'s Faction had it Pronounc'd, which, when the Lord *Burleigh* heard, he wept, and ſaid, *Hatred, the more Unjuſt it is, ſo much the more ſharp and Cruel.* O Roghan, one of the Evidence, had a Penſion given him of 40 Pounds a Year, and *Perrot* did not long ſurvive the Sentence, for tho' the Queen would not ſuffer it to be Executed, yet Sir *John* dy'd of Grief and Sickneſs in Priſon. He was a Gentleman of Worth and Honour, and only too free of his Tongue.

We have avoided, in this Hiſtory, to enter into the *Detail* of Warlike Affairs, both by Sea and Land, and of any other which did not fall under the Lord *Burleigh*'s particular Management, tho' the Year 1593, and the next, were Years of Action, in *Ireland*, *Scotland*, the *Netherlands* and *France*, yet the Lord Treaſurer's ſhare in them was to us inviſible, and to have mention'd all the memorable things that occur'd in that time, were rather to write Queen *Elizabeth*'s Life, than *Cecil*'s.

In 1595. the Lord Treaſurer finding the States began to recover, and grow Rich, gave the Queen an Account what prodigious Sums of Money, had been ſpent on the Low Country War, ſince the Year 1585 and what large quantities of Gold and Silver had been Exported and Coin'd there,

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which never return'd into *England*: What numbers of brave *Engliſhmen* had dy'd in their Quarrel: How coſtly the *Iriſh* Rebellion had been, and might be to her, and the Expence of the War with *Spain*: What Advantages her Allyance had been to the *Dutch*, and how reaſonable it was, ſince her Exchequer by their means was ſo low, that they ſhou'd refund the Money ſhe was out for them. The Queen Commanded Sir *Thomas Bodley* her Ambaſſador, to put in a Memorial to the States about it. They anſwer'd, That their Expedition to *Portugal* and *Breſt* jointly with the *Engliſh*, and the Charge they were at in fitting out Ships againſt the *Spaniſh Armada*, had ſo impoveriſh'd them, that they cou'd not pay their own Debts. They Acknowledg'd their Obligations to her Majeſty, and wou'd repay ſome part of the Money. When the Queen demanded the Debt again by her Ambaſſador, they put her in mind of the Treaty in 1585, by which no ſuch Demand was to be made till the War was over. At laſt Sir *Thomas Bodley* brought the States to Conſent to pay 40000 Pounds Yearly, and 20000 Pounds more for the Maintainance of 4000 Men in their Service. This Treaty was not perfected till three Years after.

In the Year 1596. the Earl of *Eſſex* returning from the Conqueſt of *Cales*, thought

he ſhou'd never be enough rewarded for his ſhare in that Enterprize. The Queen made Sir *Francis Vere* Governor of the *Brill*, and this young Favourite wou'd have had that Poſt given to another. He was highly diſpleas'd, that it was not, as alſo, that Sir *Robert Cecil* had Preference of Sir *Thomas Bodley*, whom he recommended to be Secretary of State. The Earl had reflected on *Cecil*, as much as he extoll'd *Bodley*, tho his Extraordinary Praiſes of his Friend did him no Service. For till then, the Queen, and the Lord Treaſurer thought to have join'd him as a Colleague with his Son, but *Eſſex*'s Partiality render'd him ſuſpected by her Majeſty, and her Miniſter. A little while after Secretary *Cecil* was made Chancellor of the *Dutchy* of *Lancaſter*, and the *French* King *Henry* IV. being about to conclude the Peace of *Vervins* with the *Spaniard*, Sir *Robert Cecil*, and others, were ſent to diſſwade him from it, and to concert Meaſures with the States of the United Provinces for continuing the War, if he cou'd not prevail with the *French* King to abandon the Treaty. *Henry* IV. very ungratefully left the Queen of *England* to her ſelf, and concluded the Peace; whatever Secretary *Cecil* cou'd do, or ſay to the Contrary. The Lord Treaſurer, now grown old and infirm, was heartily weary of the War, and perſwaded the Queen to oblige the States to

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conſent to a Peace. But Diſeaſes coming upon him, he could not mind the publick Affairs ſo ſtrenuouſly as before, ſo the Lord *Eſſex*, the Lord Admiral, the Lord *Hunſdon*, the Lord *Buckhurſt*, and other Commiſſioners, made a new Contract with the States, on the Foot of the Treaty propos'd by the Lord Treaſurer, by which the *Dutch* were to pay at ſeveral Yearly Payments 800000 Pounds to Queen *Elizabeth*, which Contract ſo Advantageous to *England*, was the effect of the Lord *Burleigh*'s Wiſdom and Foreſight. Age and Diſtempers waſting him daily, he found himſelf unfit for Buſineſs, the Gout was very troubleſome to him, and he deſir'd her Majeſty to permit him to lay down his Offices, on which ſhe viſited and comforted him, and continu'd to do ſo during his laſt Sickneſs. But his Diſeaſe, old Age, was ſuch as no Remedies cou'd Cure, and on the 4th of *Auguſt* 1598. he quietly departed this Life, in the Seventy Eighth Year of his Age. His Corps was carry'd with a great deal of State from his Houſe in the *Strand* to *Weſtminſter-Abby*, and remain'd there till his Sons remov'd it to *Burleigh*.

He left one Son by his firſt Wife *Mary Cheek*. *Thomas* created Earl of *Exeter* by King *James*, and by his ſecond Wife *Mildred Coke*, he had Sir *Robert Cecil*, afterwards Earl of *Salisbury*, who ſucceeded him

in all his Offices, and two Daughters marry'd to the Earl of *Oxford* and Mr. *Wentworth.*

Twenty ſeven Years he held the Office of Lord High Treaſurer of *England*, and tho' he deteſted to raiſe an Eſtate by baſe and corrupt Means; yet he increas'd his own, and the publick Treaſury, by Induſtry and Frugality. He ſuffer'd nothing to be ſpent but for the Queen's Honour, the defence of her Realms, and the relief of her Allies. He look'd ſtrictly, yet not over rigidly to the Farmers of the publick Revenues. He us'd to ſay, *He never lik'd, that the Treaſury ſhou'd, like the Spleen, grow too great, while the reſt of the Members languiſh'd and pin'd away.* He endeavour'd to enrich both Prince and People, ſaying often, *Nothing is truely for the Princes profit, which is not for his Honour.* In the Management of the Demeaſnes of the Crown, he wou'd have no Rents of Land rais'd, nor old Tenants turn'd out. Which Rule he obſerv'd in his private Eſtate, and carry'd himſelf ſo uprightly, that he never ſu'd any Man, nor was ſu'd by any.

Thus liv'd and dy'd the Famous Lord *Burleigh*, whoſe Character to be drawn at large, and to do it full Juſtice, wou'd more than take up the ſhort Limits, we are confin'd to in theſe Lives.

Let

Let the Example of this Illuſtrious Stateſman teach all his Succeſſors, Zeal for the Service of the Sovereign, for the Welfare of Church and State, and Moderation towards Men of all Opinions, that are not deſtructive to our Faith and Conſtitution. Let them by him learn to be tender towards all Proteſtants, and to believe what the Earl of *Arundel*, whom we have mention'd in our Hiſtory, ſaid in the Star Chamber on hearing the Trial of one *Valonger*, about a Notorious Libel, written againſt Queen *Elizabeth*, and the Proteſtant Religion. *He that is thoroughly Popiſh, the ſame Man cannot but be a Traitor.* Yet this very Lord was himſelf, afterwards a Confeſſor for the Catholick Cauſe.

THE

THE LIFE OF Sir *Walter Raleigh.*

PART I.

THE Earl of *Oxford*, in envy of this Gentleman's Advancement at Court, us'd to call him an *Upſtart*. But we cannot find he had any Reaſon to Treat him ſo, from the meanneſs of his Birth: His Family being very Ancient at *Furdell*, in *Devonſhire*, and were deſcended from *Henry* I. Son of *William* the *Norman*. His Anceſtor Sir *John de Raleigh*, taking to Wife the Lord *D'Ameri*e's

rie's Daughter by *Elizabeth*, Siſter to *Gilbert*, Earl of *Glouceſter*, Grand-ſon to King *Henry* I. by *Robert* of *Glouceſter*, King *Henry*'s Natural Son.

But not to trouble the Reader with his Pedigree, which did not ſo much diſtinguiſh him, as his Excellent Genius, both for War and Letters, we ſhall obſerve here, that whatever Advantages he had by his Quality, he had none by his Eſtate. His Father at the time of his Birth liv'd at *Hayes*, a Farm in the Pariſh of *Budeleigh*, in the County of *Devon*, which he held by Leaſe, and when that expir'd, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, his Son wou'd have purchas'd it of the Lord, *for the natural Love he had to the Seat*, but the Owner wou'd not part with it.

Sir *Walter* was ſecond Son of *Walter Raleigh* of *Budeleigh*, Eſq; by his Wife *Catherine*, Daughter to Sir *Philip Champernoun*. He was born in the Year 1552. and in his Youth gave great hopes of the Fortune which he afterwards ſo well deſerv'd. At 16 Years of Age he was ſent to *Oriel* Colledge, in *Oxford*, and liv'd there a Commoner three Years, where under the Care of an Excellent Tutor, his natural Parts were much improv'd by Academical Learning. He was eſteem'd the greateſt Proficient for his Years in the Univerſity, both in Oratory and Phyloſophy.

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He went from *Oxford* to the Inns of Court, of which Queen *Elizabeth* was wont to ſay, *They fitted Youth for the Future.* He ſtudy'd our Municipal Laws in the *Middle-Temple*, and for his Diverſion exercis'd himſelf in Poetry. His Vein that way being then thought *Lofty and Paſſionate.* Moſt of his Verſes were Amorous; and that he was a Lover, we ſhall find to his coſt hereafter. At the *Temple* he qualify'd himſelf for the great Affairs, his Ambition aſpir'd to, and by his Application to Study, improving his Talent for Buſineſs, he became one of the moſt eminent Politicians in the Court of Queen *Elizabeth.* His Impatience to riſe faſter, than by the ſlow pace of the Gown, was the reaſon that he left off all thoughts of the Bar, for which his Father deſign'd him, and reſolv'd to puſh his Fortune by the Sword.

He Accompany'd his Kinſman, Mr. *Henry Champernoun* to *France*, the latter having leave of the Queen to go thither with 100 Gentlemen more Volunteers, to aſſiſt the *Hugonots* againſt the *Guiſards.* He bore this Motto in his Collours, *Finem det Mihi Virtus.* And Mr. *Raleigh*, and his Companions, ſignaliz'd themſelves in ſeveral Engagements. In *France* he firſt learn'd the Rudiments of War. From thence he went to the *Netherlands*, and ſerv'd under the Prince of *Orange* as a Volunteer againſt the

the *Spaniards*. In the *Low Countries* he made himſelf Maſter of the Art Military. His Succeſs in his firſt Campaigns, put all thoughts of the Law out of his Head, and confirm'd him in his Reſolution to advance himſelf by Arms, as the nobler and readier way to Glory.

In the Year 1578. his Brother-in-law, Sir *Humphry Gilbert*, fitted out 10 Sail of Ships to make Diſcoveries in the *Weſt-Indies*, Mr. *Carew*, and Mr. *Walter Raleigh*, and ſeveral other Gentlemen, accompany'd him in his Voyage to *America*. This Expedition prov'd unſucceſsful; yet 'twas of ſome Advantage to Mr. *Walter Raleigh*; for he acquir'd a perfect Knowledge of Navigation, and Maritime Affairs, which he believ'd wou'd make him the more neceſſary to the State.

The next Year Sir *Humphry Gilbert* went to *Ireland*, and carry'd Mr. *Raleigh* with him. He ſerv'd there by Land againſt the Rebels, but was ſoon weary of the Service, which was rather a Skirmiſhing with Robers, than a War with a brave Enemy. The Pope had given *Philip* II. King of *Spain*, a Grant of that Kingdom, and *James Fitz Maurice* of the Family of the Earls of *Deſmond*, landed with *Spaniſh* Auxiliaries to aſſiſt the *Iriſh* Rebels in *July* 1679. at St. *Mary-Week* near *Dingle*, in *Kerry*. Sir *William Pelham* was then Lord Juſtice of *Ireland*, and having not been

been very Fortunate in his Attempts, to drive back theſe Invaders, the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton* was ſent thither to take on him the Government. Mr. *Raleigh*, finding that Sir *William Pelham*'s Meaſures wou'd not do to reduce the Rebels, return'd to *England*, where for ſome Months he liv'd without Action. In this interval he reviv'd his Study of Polite Learning, which he thought to be equally Uſeful and Pleaſant, waiting for a fair Opportunity to ſhew himſelf again in the Field. The Lord *Grey*'s going for *Ireland*, tempted him to try his Fortune once more in that Kingdom: On his arrival he had a Company of 100 Men given him, which encourag'd him to continue in that Service.

The Lord Deputy *Grey* march'd to *Munſter*, to diſlodge the *Spaniards* from the Fort of *Smerwick*, which they call'd *Caſtel del Or*, and was ſtill in their Poſſeſſion. He had not above 800 Horſe and Foot with him; commanded under him by Captain *Raleigh*, Captain *Zouch*, Captain *Denie*, Captain *Carew*, Captain *Mackworth*, and Captain *Week*. The Deputy encampt ſometime at *Rekel*, expecting Re-inforcements from the other Provinces, and Neceſſaries by the Fleet from *England*, without which he cou'd not form the Siege. After he had lain a while at *Rekel*, he rais'd his Camp, and approach'd nearer the Fort. Captain *Raleigh* ſtaid behind

behind him, believing the *Iriſh*, as they uſually did; wou'd come to ſee if the *Engliſh* had left any thing, and to pick up what they cou'd not carry off. He was not out in his gueſs, for the ſame Day that the Lord Deputy broke up from *Rekell*, the *Iriſh* not miſtruſting *Raleigh*'s Deſign, came on him in a great deal of Security. He preſently attack'd, defeated, kill'd, and took all of them, tho' they were 10 Times the Number of his Men. Theſe Rapperies carry'd about with them Withs, of which they made uſe inſtead of Ropes to Hang thoſe poor *Engliſh* Straglers, that fell into their Hands: Captain *Raleigh* finding one of theſe Withs about an *Iriſh-Kern*, and being inform'd for what uſe he intended it, he order'd him to be hang'd up immediately, and dealt with the reſt as they deſerv'd for their Robberies and Murders. Sir *William Winter*, Admiral of the Fleet, came into the Bay of *Smerwick*, while the Lord Deputy lay before the Fort. The Artillery was taken out of the Ships, and Batteries rais'd. The Lord *Grey* ſummon'd the *Spaniards* to ſurrender at Diſcretion, which they refus'd with Scorn, and ſally'd out on Captain *Dennies*, and Captain *Raleigh*'s Quarters; but were forc'd to retire in diſorder, leaving moſt of their Men behind them. Captain *Raleigh* commanded the firſt Day after opening the Trenches, and

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treated the *Spaniards* in the Fort ſo roughly from his Battery, that their hopes began to fail 'em; eſpecially, ſeeing the *Engliſh* Works were brought very near the Fort, and no Supplies likely to come from *Deſmond*. Then they beat a Parley, which they did too late, for the Deputy wou'd hearken to no Conditions, ſtill puſhing forward, and preſſing on them till they were reduc'd to the laſt Extremity, they then hung out a white Flag, and unanimouſly cry'd out *Miſericordia*. The Lord *Grey* ſent Captain *Wingfeild* to diſcover, if they were in earneſt, and the Garriſon preſently diſarming at *Wingfeild*'s Command, the Deputy order'd part of his Forces to take Poſſeſſion of the Fort. *Raleigh* was the firſt Man who enter'd it, and was follow'd by Captain *Mackworth*: All the *Iriſh*, and moſt of the *Spaniards* and *Italians* were put to the Sword, *San Joſepho*, the Commander in Chief, was ſent over to *England*, and this Conqueſt clear'd *Ireland* of theſe Foreigners; who had troubl'd her almoſt 12 Months with their Cruelty and Devaſtations. In the Winter 1580. Captain *Raleigh* quarter'd at *Cork*, and being diſturb'd with the frequent Alarms given him, by the Excurſions of *David Barry*, *Condon*, and other Rebels, who came out in Parties from their Bogs, and lurking Holes; he went to *Dublin* to inform the Lord Deputy, and

to conſult of means to free the Country in the Neighbourhood of *Cork* from thoſe Rapperees. The Deputy and Councel ſent him back with a Commiſſion to Seize, and enter on *Barry Court*, and other Lands of the Rebel *Barry*. They alſo allow'd him a Party of Horſe for his Aſſiſtance. But this Commiſſion was prevented by thoſe, who had the Management of Affairs at *Cork*. *Barry* made a pretended Surrender of his Houſe of *Barry Court* to them, and they deliver'd it back to his Mother, who held it in her own Name for her Son's Uſe; and he afterwards burnt it. When Captain *Raleigh* return'd to *Cork* from *Dublin*, *Fitz Edmunds Seneſchal* of *Imokelly* with 20 Horſemen lay in wait for him near *Corabby*, at a Ford which he muſt neceſſarily Paſs. *Raleigh* had with him ſix Men well mounted, and he was advanc'd a good way before them, when he drew near the Ford. *Fitz Edmunds* ſeeing him alone, ſally'd forth of his Ambuſcade, and croſs'd him as he was about to ride thro' the River. However, Captain *Raleigh* paſt the Ford, and one of his Company, *Henry Moyle*, coming up, was flung by his Horſe in the Middle of it, yet *Raleigh* ſtaid till he recover'd himſelf, and had reach'd the other ſide of the Water; where with his Piſtol in his Hand, he expected the Rebels, tho' twenty to one, and much out numbring his whole Compa-

ny had they been all come up. Among thoſe that were behind was his Servant, who had 200 Pounds of his in his Charge, a great Sum in thoſe Days, and to a Soldier of Fortune, as Captain *Raleigh* then was. The Rebel, tho' he was reinforc'd with 12 Horſemen more, and eſteem'd a Hero among his Party, exchang'd only ſome hard Words with *Raleigh*, and on the appearance of his Followers, made off as faſt as he had at firſt perſu'd him. Not long after there was a Truce between the *Engliſh* and the Rebels, and *Raleigh* charg'd this renown'd Champion of the *Iriſh* with Cowardice, which his Country-men cou'd not bear, and offer'd to juſtifie *Fitz Edmund*'s Valour on the next Occaſion. The Earl of *Ormond* hearing their Boaſts, challeng'd the *Seneſchall* of *Imokelly*, Sir *John Deſmond*, and any four they wou'd choſe, to meet himſelf, Captain *Raleigh*, and four *Engliſh* Horſemen, at the River before mention'd. But the *Iriſh* did not think fit to accept of his offer. The Lord *Ormond* going for *England* in the Spring, the Government which he held of Part of *Munſter*, was given to Captain *Raleigh*, in Commiſſion with Sir *William Morgan*, and Captain *Piers*. In the Summer 1581. he lay at *Liſmore*, and was in continual Action againſt the Rebels. From *Liſmore* he remov'd with his Company of 80 Foot, and

ſix Toopers to *Cork*, his old Quarters. And hearing in his way thither, that the Arch-Rebel *Barry* lay at *Clove* with ſeveral hundred Men, he reſolv'd to go thro' that Town to offer him the Combat. He met *Barry* and his Men at the Towns end, *Barry* refus'd to fight, and fled, Captain *Raleigh* perſu'd him to a Plain, and there having cut off Part of *Barry*'s Men, from a Wood to which they were retreating. The *Iriſh* grew deſperate, and ſeeing no more than *Raleigh* with his ſix Horſemen near them, who were a compleat Company; they all fac'd about, and fought Couragiouſly; they kill'd five of the ſix Horſes, the Captain's was one of the ſlain, and himſelf wou'd have been in great danger, had not his Groom charg'd ſix of the Enemy at once, kill'd one of them, and reſcu'd his Maſter; the ſame Groom back'd by another of *Raleigh*'s Servants, held the *Iriſh* in play till one *Fitzgerald* with his *Kerns* join'd the *Engliſh*, and with the loſs of his Life clear'd them of the Rebels, who took the advantage of *Raleigh*, and his little Troops being diſmounted, and made their eſcape. The *Engliſh* follow'd them, ſlew ſome of them, and carry'd two of 'em Priſoners to *Cork*. During his ſtay there, the Lord *Roch* became ſuſpected of holding Correſpondence with the *Fitz Maurices*, who were in actual Rebellion. Captain *Raleigh* was com-

manded to fetch him and his Lady to *Cork*, and keep 'em in Hoſtage. The deſign was to ſurprize *Roch*, and kept ſecret, yet 'twas not carry'd ſo privately, but *Fitz Edmunds*, and *David Barry*, got intelligence of it. They gather'd together 800 Men to Way-lay the *Engliſh*, either going or coming. *Raleigh* knowing the Lord *Roch* to be a popular Man among the *Iriſh*, intended to come upon him unaware; he therefore or-der'd all his Horſe and Foot, ſcarce 100 Soldiers in all, to be in a readineſs to March by 11 that Night. At the hour Prefixt, his Men came to the Place appointed, and he im-mediately march'd towards *Ballie*, *Roch's* Houſe, twenty Miles from *Cork*: He ar-riv'd there about ſix in the Morning, and advanc'd to the Caſtle Gate. The Town-men ſeeing their Lord's Houſe beſet, arm'd in his Defence to the Number of 500 Men. *Raleigh* drew up his Band, and the *Iriſh* terrify'd at the ſight, ſuffer'd him to Exe-cute his Commiſſion: The Captain with his Lieutenant, and ſix choſen Men of his Com-pany went up to the Gate, and knock'd for Admittance. On which ſome of the Lord *Roch's* Gentlemen appear'd, and de-manded the Cauſe of their coming, *Raleigh* told them, he muſt ſpeak with their Ma-ſter, to which they conſented on Condi-on, he wou'd enter with no more than three of his Followers. The Captain

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greed to their offer, enter'd the Caſtle, and holding the Lord *Roch* in diſcourſe, he inſenſibly gave his Men, that ſtaid without, an opportunity to follow him by two and three at a Time, till he ſaw there were enough got in to deal with the *Iriſh*. He then Commanded his Men to admit the reſt, and guard the Gate, that none ſhou'd get in nor go out, and order'd a good part of them to come into the Hall, every Man with his Piece prepar'd, loaden with two Bullets. The Lord *Roch*, ſurpriz'd with this Order, diſſembled his Grief, and wou'd have put off the Buſineſs with an Entertainment to the Captain and his Men. But *Raleigh* declar'd his Commiſſion was to carry him, and his Lady to *Cork*. *Roch* made many Excuſes, ſaying at laſt, They neither of 'em cou'd nor wou'd go. *Raleigh* anſwer'd, If they wou'd not go willingly, they ſhou'd by force; and adviſ'd him to command his Townſmen to provide for their Journey. *Roch* finding him reſolute, comply'd; and the Night following Captain *Raleigh* ſet out with his Priſoners; whom, after many hazards, being ſurrounded on all ſides by his Enemies, he brought in ſafety the next Day to *Cork*, of which City he was made Governor. By this means he hinder'd that Lord's joining with the Rebels, and got him over to her Majeſty's In-

tereſt. *Roch* prov'd a very Loyal Man ever after, and three of his Sons dy'd in the Queen's Service.

In *Auguſt* 1581. the Lord Deputy made Captain *Zouch* Preſident of *Munſter*, which was not at all grateful to *Raleigh*, nor was it juſt in the Lord *Grey* to put another over him, who did not deſerve ſo much as himſelf; yet no Reſentment made him careleſs in his Duty. He ſcour'd the Country frequently with the new Preſident, and was always Victorious over the Rebels. His diſguſt at the Deputy's prefering *Zouch* grew to a difference between him, and the Lord *Grey*, which was refer'd by the Councel of War in *Ireland* to that of *England*, and there decided in *Raleigh*'s Favour.

The Solliciting this Buſineſs was the true Cauſe of his leaving *Ireland*, and brought him into the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s Acquaintance, who introduc'd him to the Queen, hoping to ſupport his declining Intereſt, by the Aſſiſtance of ſo active a Genius, which he foreſaw wou'd ſoon gain her Majeſty's Eſteem, and get him credit at Court. Nor was he out in his Judgment, for the Queen immediately diſcover'd, and incourag'd his Merit. Some Authors affirm that the Earl of *Suſſex* brought him firſt to Court, to oppoſe him to *Leiceſter*, whatever was the occaſion, 'tis certain

tain he was not long there before her Majeſty took notice of him, and gave him a large ſhare of her Favour. When he was in *England*, his Ambition put him upon trying all ways to ſhew himſelf to Advantage. He frequented the beſt Company, and made in all a very Gallant Figure. He was one of the Gentlemen whom the Queen order'd to wait on the Duke of *Anjou* to his Ships at *Sandwich*, when he left *England*, where he came in Perſon to Sollicite his Marriage with Queen *Elizabeth*. 'Tis reported that on Mr. *Raleigh*'s firſt appearance at Court; he had the good luck to meet her Majeſty, as ſhe walk'd in a Fenny place, where ſhe ſtop'd, and ſeem'd unwilling to venture over it. Which *Raleigh*, who was well dreſt, perceiving, he preſently ſpread his fine Coat on the Ground, and the Queen ſmiling, ſtep'd on it to get over, pleas'd and ſurpriz'd with ſo unuſual a Complement. Whether this Story is true or not, we find it told by all, who have written of him, and many are the inſtances of ſuch trivial Accidents, that have been the firſt riſe of the moſt famous Favourites, which has been as often owing to Fortune, as to Merit. 'Tis ſaid alſo, that about the beginning of the Year 1582. he wrote on a Window by which the Queen was to paſs, and ſo remarkable that ſhe cou'd not eſcape it;

Fain wou'd I climb, yet fear I to fall.

Her Majeſty wrote under it,

If thy Heart fail thee climb not at all.

This Adventure, and the other are alike Romantick, but we meet with both the Rhimes, and the Story, in all the Hiſtories that mention Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s Advancement. After he had once made himſelf known to the Queen, he grew every Day more and more in her Eſteem; ſhe conſulted him as her Oracle, being wonderfully taken with the Vigour and Prudence of his Counſels, and yet ſhe never admitted him to the Board, tho' ſhe conſulted him in her Cabinet.

The Year 1583. was fatal to Sir *Humphry Gilbert*, he made a ſecond Voyage to *America*, in which he loſt his Life. He was ſeperated from the reſt of his Company by Streſs of Weather, and never heard of ſince. Before his Misfortune and Death he landed at *Newfoundland*, and by a Herald proclaim'd the Queen Sovereign of the Country. His example put Mr. *Raleigh* on Adventuring. He and his Friends ſet out 2 or 3 Ships, himſelf went aboard one of them, and ſail'd as far as *Cape de Verd* on the Coaſt of *Africa*, and for want of Proviſions

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and other Neceſſaries, was forc'd to return to *England*. This did not diſcourage him; for the year following he ſent out 2 ſmall Ships Commanded by *Philip Amadis* and *Arthur Barlow*, two of his Servants, with directions to diſcover the Land lying between *Norembega* and *Florida* in *America*. They ſail'd in *April*, and came back in *Auguſt*, bringing with them two *Indians*, and giving a very promiſing account of the Country, the Commodities it produc'd and that a profitable Trade thither might be ſettled by the *Engliſh*. While Mr *Raleigh* was contriving to advance the Trade of *England*, and rendred himſelf ſo acceptable to her Majeſty, that ſhe depended on no Bodies advices more than on his; his ſudden greatneſs allarm'd many Powerful Rivals, and thoſe who at firſt recommended him to her, began to be apprehenſive that he might in time ſupplant them. The Lord *Leiceſter*, once his moſt zealous Patron, was now moſt jealous of the new Favourite, and as he was a very cunning Enemy, he thought of means to get him out of the way, and not diſcover his Envy. *Leiceſter* knowing his Inclination to Voyages and Sea Affairs, advis'd the Queen to ſend him to the *Weſt Indies*, with a Squadron of Ships on the publick Account. And *Raleigh* perceiving that his falſe Friend had done him ill Services with the Queen, accepted

cepted of the Commiſſion when ſhe propos'd it to him. Hoping that the Advantage he ſhou'd bring to the Nation by his Diſcoveries, wou'd regain the Ground he had loſt in her Majeſty's Favour. For ſince the Lord *Leiceſter* had miſrepreſented him to her, he found her to be much colder towards him than ſhe was before. She gave him to incourage him, the Caſtle of *Shireburn* in *Dorſetſhire*, and *Amadis* and *Barlow*, returning at that Juncture, made him the more willing to go on this Expedition, which was little better than an honourable Baniſhment.

All things being ready, he ſail'd thither in Perſon, and having made a perfect Diſcovery of the Country, he took Poſſeſſion of it in the Name of Queen *Elizabeth*, and in Honour of the Virgin Queen, call'd it *Virginia*. He did nothing more in this Voyage than inquire into the Cuſtoms of the Inhabitants, the Product of the Place, and the Neceſſaries which the Colony he intended to ſend from *England*, muſt bring with them for their own Uſe, and what Commodities to Trade with. He return'd in the beginning of the Year 1585. and was ſo welcome to the Queen that ſhe Knighted him. An Honour, which ſhe conferr'd on few Perſons, and before her Succeſſour King *James* had made that, and all other Titles cheap, by expoſing 'em to Sale,

'twas

'twas given as the reward of Virtue and Valour. And the greateſt Men both of the Sword, and the Gown, did not diſdain to wear it. Her Majeſty granted to Sir *Walter Raleigh* Letters Patents, for him to ſettle a Plantation at *Virginia*, and accordingly the ſame Year, he fitted out eight Ships at his own Charge, deſigning to make another Voyage; but either through fear of loſing more, by abſenting himſelf from Court, than he ſhou'd get by it, or thinking the Enterprize unworthy his Reputation; he committed the Charge of it to his Kinſman, Sir *Richard Greenville*, as his Lieutenant in the Admiral of the Fleet, the Captains of the other Ships, and the chief Merchants, were Sir *John Arundell*, Captain *Candiſh*, *Ralph Lane*, *Edward Gorges*, *John Stukely*, *Edward Stafford*, *Philip Amadis*, *Arthur Barlow*, and *Thomas Heriot*. He order'd Sir *Richard Greenville* to ſettle a Colony at *Virginia*, and leave Mr. *Lane* Governor. Sir *Richard* ſail'd with his Fleet from *Plimouth* the ſame Year; and was himſelf thrown on the Iſland of *Hiſpaniola*, but his Ships arriv'd ſafely at *Virginia*, where *Greenville* after ſeveral Adventures at *Hiſpaniola*, got to the reſt of his Company. He left 107 Perſons there, under the Command of Mr. *Lane*, with whom ſeveral Gentlemen remain'd, as *Amadis*, *Stafford*,

Stafford, *Mervin*, *Kendall*, *Prideaux*, *Acton* and *Heriot*, and having furniſh'd the new Settlement with all ſorts of Neceſſaries, Sir *Richard* return'd to *England*. In his Voyage homewards he took a *Spaniſh* Ship of 400 Tuns, the Vice-Admiral of the *Sancto Domingo* Fleet, which was loaden with Sugar, Hides and Spices, and had beſides large Quantities of Silver and Pearl Aboard. This Prize paid the Charge of the Voyage, and put Money in *Raleigh*'s Pocket. Sir *Walter* met his Kinſman at *Plimouth*, where he arriv'd in the latter end of the Year, and gave his principal ſuch a Relation of the Progreſs of the Plantation, that he reſolv'd once more to Sail thither, and bring it to Perfection. But before his Ships were ready, Mr. *Lane* and his Company were brought back by Sir *Francis Drake*, who touching at *Virginia*, as he was homeward bound from his Conqueſt of *Cartagena*, found *Lane* and Sir *Walter*'s Colony there deſtitute of Proviſions. Their number was very much diminiſh'd, and deſpairing of Supplys from *England*, thoſe who were living deſir'd *Drake* to take them Home with him, which he did, leaving no more behind than cou'd maintain themſelves on the Stores that remain'd, till other Ships arriv'd from *England*. Mr. *Lane* brought over ſome Tobacco, the firſt

that

that ever was ſeen in *Europe*, and having inform'd Sir *Walter Raleigh*, the Proprietor, of his Proceedings, and taken full Inſtructions how to govern his new Settlement, he return'd to *Virginia*, carrying with him ſufficient Supplies for the *Engliſh* that ſtaid in the Country, and more People to Plant, and Trade with the *Indians*; from theſe Beginnings the Plantation grew to what it is at Preſent. When the Weed it Produces, brings Yearly 400000 Pounds into the publick Treaſury.

For this, and other good Services, the Queen made him Warden of the *Stanneries*, Seneſchal of *Cornwall* and *Exeter*, Captain of the Guards, Governor of *Jerſey*, and Lord Lieutenant of the Dutchy of *Cornwall*, Places of little Profit, and far ſhort of his juſt Deſerts from the Crown. 'Twas the Character of the Princeſs he ſerv'd, That *ſhe was not profuſe of her Treaſure, but paid moſt of her Servants part in Money, and the reſt with Grace.* Tho' Sir *Walter* was the greatter, yet he was not much the Richer for theſe High Offices. He continu'd in them with Honour, Belov'd and Eſteem'd, for his great Qualities as a Soldier, and a Stateſman. And we hear no more of him, till the Nation was alarm'd with the Noiſe of a *Spaniſh* Invaſion in 1588. He had no general Command in her Majeſty's Fleet, but was very Inſtrumental in procuring ſeveral Gentle-

Gentlemen to fit out Ships at their private Charge. He ſet them an Example, and was follow'd by the Earls of *Oxford*, *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*, *Thomas* and *Robert Cecil*, the Lord *Burleigh*'s Sons, *Henry Brook*, Eſq; Sir *Charles Blount*, Sir *William Hatton*, Sir *Robert Cary*, Sir *Ambroſe Willoughby*, Sir *Thomas Gerard*, Sir *Arthur Gorge*, and others, Names worthy to be tranſmitted to Poſterity, for ſo generouſly hazarding their Perſons and Eſtates in defence of their Country. Theſe Gentlemen join'd the Lord Admiral *Howard*, when he fell on the *Spaniards* off *Graveling*, and being bravely ſeconded by Sir *Francis Drake*, Vice-Admiral, ſcatter'd the boaſted *Invincible Armada*, deſtroying the beſt Part of them, and moſt of the remainder were taken by the Privateers of *Fluſhing*.

Sir *Walter* ſat as a Burgeſs, for a *Corniſh* Burrough, in the Parliament, which open'd the 19th of *February* 1592. He earneſtly preſt the Houſe to grant her Majeſty Subſidies, ſufficient to prevent the danger that ſtill threaten'd from the *Spaniard*, which motion, he proteſted, he did not make ſo much to pleaſe the Queen, *to whom he was infinitely oblig'd*, as for the Neceſſity he ſaw, and knew the Nation was in to provide for her ſafety; he then ſet before them the growing greatneſs of *Spain*, and propos'd the proper Ways to bring it down. The

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ſucceſs of his Speech was, that the Subſidies were granted with the unanimous Conſent of the Houſe. He was a Member, and frequent Speaker in all the Parliaments, in the latter end of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, and in one of them he brought in the Bill againſt Recuſants. His Speeches are full of Reaſon and Eloquence, no Man in his Days being more a Maſter of Language than himſelf, nor deſerv'd better than he did the Motto he took, -----*Tam Marte quam Mercurio.*

To diſtreſs the *Spaniards* in that which they cou'd leaſt ſpare, their Silver from the *Weſt-Indies*, Sir *Walter Raleigh* always adviſ'd the Queen to attack 'em there, where they were moſt naked and defenceleſs, and the Queen knowing that the Money they fetch'd from thence, not only help'd to maintain a chargeable Rebellion againſt her in *Ireland*, but furniſh'd them with Means every Year to inſult her at Home, ſhe reſolv'd to ſend him thither to Execute what he had himſelf Counſel'd. A Squadron of 15 Men of War were order'd for *America*, and Sir *Walter* had the Command of them. His Commiſſion was to poſſeſs himſelf of *Panama*, where the *Spaniard*'s Ship off their Plate aboard the Galeons, which he was to intercept in their Paſſage homewards, if he came too late to Seize them in the Port, before they ſail'd

ſail'd for *Europe*. He was a long while detain'd by contrary Winds, and at laſt when he had ſet Sail, and got beyond Cape *Finiſtre*. He met with Intelligence, that King *Philip* had order'd no Ship to ſtir from the *Weſt-Indies* that Year, and this bad news being follow'd by a violent Storm, which endanger'd his whole Fleet; he once reſolv'd to return Home with it, but hitting on another deſign, he chang'd his Reſolution, and divided his Fleet into two Squadrons, giving the Command of one of them to Sir *John Burroughs*, and of the other to Sir *Martin Forbiſher*. Sir *Martin*'s Commiſſion was to Cruiſe off the Coaſt of *Spain*, to hinder the coming in of their Ships of War, or Merchant Men, and Sir *John Burroughs*'s to wait at the *Azores*, for the *Carricks* from *India*. Having thus diſpos'd of his Fleet, *Raleigh* return'd Home, and came to Court, for which he was blam'd by ſome: But both thoſe Enterprizes were too uncertain to hazard his Reputation on, and not of ſuch Importance as to keep him Abroad, when he cou'd be more uſeful at Home. Either of the Officers he left to command in his Abſence, being qualify'd to Execute the Commiſſion he gave him, as well as himſelf: The ſucceſs indeed was worthy his Character. The Diviſion of the Fleet amaz'd the *Spaniards*, who cou'd not imagine what they meant by it, and

and while the *Spaniſh* Admiral obſerv'd *Frobiſher*, the Carricks unguarded, were left a Prey to *Burroughs*, who according to Order ſail'd to *Sancta Cruce*, a ſmall Town of the *Azores*, where he burnt a *Portugueſe* Merchant Man, and poſted his Ships at ſeveral diſtances to wait there for the Carricks from *India*. One of them fell into his Hands, the largeſt the Ocean ever bore, call'd, The *Mother of God*, being 165 Foot long from Stem to Stern, having ſeven Decks, and a Cargo of Goods to the Value of 150000 Pounds Sterling, beſides what the Officers and Seamen plunder'd. Sir *Walter* ſaw his fault in leaving the Fleet when he heard of this Prize, and griev'd heartily that another ſhou'd carry of the Honour of it; which he thought was his due, as the Project was his. He had ſcarce forgot his Error, before he committed a worſe, which not only threw him out of Favour, but kept him five Months in Priſon. He had an Intrigue with one of the Maids of Honour, *Elizabeth*, Daughter of Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, which coming to the knowledge of the Queen; ſhe ſent him to the *Tower*, and turn'd the Lady out of her Family. Sir *Walter* marry'd her afterwards, and in ſome meaſure made amends for the Favours he obtain'd of her before. As heinous as his Offence was, her Majeſty did not puniſh it in *Leiceſter* and *Eſſex*,

Men famous in their Days for their Amours, eſpecially the former, who turn'd off *Douglas Sheffeild*, by whom he had a Son, to marry the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Mother. 'Tis obſervable that Sir *Walter Raleigh* was in and out at Court ſo often, that he was commonly call'd, The *Tennis-Ball of Fortune*, which ſhe delighted to Sport with. His Enemies perpetually brought him into diſgrace with his Miſtreſs, and his Merit in a little time reſtor'd him again to her Favour. And as ſhe always grew cold towards the Earl of *Eſſex*, after Abſence, ſo ſhe always receiv'd Sir *Walter Raleigh* with greater Marks of her Eſteem; and he was too hard for his Rivals, by the very means which they intended for his Deſtruction. His Marriage with Mrs. *Throgmorton*, wip'd of the Scandal of his Amour, yet he thought he ſhou'd never recover the good Will of the People, till the Remembrance of his Diſgrace was forgot in ſome Honourable Action.

Guiana was then much talk'd of, as a Country abounding with Gold, which tempted him to undertake a Voyage thither. Diſcoveries were the moſt agreeable things to him in the World, and if he cou'd find out a Place plenty of that precious *Ore*, he knew 'twou'd be an infallible way to Reconcile him to his Sovereign, and to her Subjects. Beſides, from *Guiana* he might be

be able to disturb the *Spaniards*, in the rest of their *West-India* Trade. On the 6th. of *February* 1595, he set sail from *Plimouth*, and arriv'd at the Isle of *Trinidado* on the 22d. of *March*. He there easily made himself Master of St. *Joseph*'s, a small City, and took the *Spanish* Governor *Antonio Boreo* Prisoner, who gave him a large Description of the neighbouring Continent, and the Trade of those Parts, unknown before to the *English*. On this Information he left his Ship at *Trinidado*, and with 100 Men, in several little Barks, made up the River *Orenoque*, 400 Miles high, in search of *Guiana*. *Carrapana*, one of the petty Kings of the Country, and several others of 'em, resign'd their Sovereignties into his hand for the Queen's use. But the Weather was so hot, and the Rains so violent, that he was forc'd to retire in as much danger of being born down by the rapid Torrents of Water, as of his Enemies. The Inhabitants of *Cumana* refusing to bring in the Contribution he assign'd them to pay to save the Town, he fir'd it, as also part of St. *Mary*'s, and *Rio de la Haach*, which he did in his return home with Glory and Riches. The Treasure he got he spent in making further Discoveries; and he has left it a Question to this day, whether he was instigated to these Expeditions by Avarice or Ambition. We refer the Reader for a fuller Account of his last Voyage,

to his own Hiſtory of *Guiana*; but there are ſo many things in it which ſeem fabulous, as the Account he gives of the *Amazons*, and a Nation inhabited by a People whoſe Faces are in their Breaſts, that we have not thought neceſſary to enlarge on a Story, which we cannot entirely believe.

Next Year the *Spaniards* fortify'd themſelves at *Trinidado*, and tho' Sir *Walter* ſent other Adventurers in ſearch of the River that led to the Golden Mines, yet his Expence was ineffectual. The Enemy were provided to hinder any farther Attempts on the Coaſt, unleſs 'twas with a potent Fleet, and Land Forces. About this time dy'd Sir *Francis Drake* and Sir *John Hawkins*, the latter at *Porto Rico*, the former at *Nombre di dios*, and *Raleigh* was now, without diſpute, the beſt Sea-Officer her Majeſty had to employ. The want of him, and his ſubmiſſive Temper, work'd on the Queen's pride, and when he came to Court from his Voyage to *Guiana*, he ſeem'd to be more in her favour than he had ever been before. The terror of the late dreadful *Armada* was ſcarce over, when the People of *England* were threaten'd with a new Invaſion. Her Majeſty, to eaſe the Minds of her Subjects and conſidering the Port of *Cales* lay convenient for the *Spaniards* to diſturb her, either in *England* or *Ireland*, ſhe though 'twou'd be both Prudent and Glorious t

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begin with King *Philip*, and carry the War into his own Kingdom, by Attacking that City. For this purpoſe a Fleet of 150 Sail were Equip'd, Mann'd by 6772 Seamen, having aboard 6360 Soldiers, and 1000 Volunteers: For as yet the *Engliſh* Noblemen and Gentlemen had not learn'd to live looſely and lazily at Home, while their Country-men were Fighting abroad for the Safety and Glory of the Nation. *Robert*, Earl of *Eſſex*, and the Lord *Howard* were join'd in Commiſſion, to Command in the Expedition to *Cales*, they having been both at a vaſt Charge to bring it about. To theſe were added a Councel of War, conſiſting of a like Number of Land and Sea Officers, of whom Sir *Walter Raleigh* was one. The Fleet were divided into four Squadrons, the Firſt under the Lord Admiral *Howard*; the Second under the Earl of *Eſſex*; the Third under the Lord *Thomas Howard*; and the Fourth under Sir *Walter Raleigh*. They ſet ſail the beginning of *June* 1596, and on the 20th. arriv'd at *Cales*. The Lord Admiral's Opinion was to attempt the Town firſt, that the Galeons and Gallies which were in the Harbour might not together with the Forts about *Cales*, beat at once on the *Engliſh* Fleet. The Councel of War approv'd of his Reaſons, and came to a Reſolution to attack the Town. Sir *Walter* was not at the Councel, and the

Earl of *Eſſex* was putting his Men into Boats, before *Raleigh* heard any thing of the Deſign; he immediately went to the Earl, and proteſted againſt it, alledging ſuch weighty Reaſons for their falling firſt on the Galeons, and the Ships in the Harbour, that the Earl was convinc'd of the Neceſſity of doing it, and deſir'd Sir *Walter* to diſſwade the Lord Admiral from Landing. Sir *Walter* undertook it, and prevail'd with him to conſent, that the Fleet ſhou'd firſt enter the Port, and fall on the *Spaniſh* Galeons and Gallies. When he return'd to the Earl of *Eſſex* with the News, crying out aloud in his long Boat, *Entramus*, the Earl flung his Hat into the Sea for joy, and prepar'd to weigh Anchor, Sir *Walter* gave the Lord Admiral a Draft of the manner in which he thought beſt to begin the Fight. Two great Fly-Boats were to Board a Galeon, after they had been ſufficiently batter'd by the Queen's Ships of War, which being agreed on, and both the Generals perſwaded to lead the Main Body of the Fleet, *Raleigh* in the *Warſpight* had the Command of the Van, which was to enter the Harbour, and conſiſted of the

Mary Roſe, commanded by Sir *George Carew*,

The *Lyon*, by Sir *Robert Southwell*,
The *Rainbow*, by Sir *Francis Vere*,
The *Swiftſure*, by Captain *Croſs*,
The *Dreadnought*, by Sir *Conyers Clifford*,
The *Non-Pareil*, by Mr. *Dudley*.

Theſe were to be follow'd by the Fly-Boats and *London* hir'd Ships. The Lord *Thomas Howard* left his Ship, the *Meer Honour*, to go on Board the *Non-Pareil*, and Mr. *Dudley* had the *Meer Honour* given him, till the Action was over. On the 22d of *June* at break of Day, Sir *Walter* weigh'd Anchor, and bare with the *Spaniſh* Fleet; taking the ſtart of all the Ships that were in the Van. The Enemy expecting to be attack'd, had thus diſpos'd themſelves. Seventeen Gallies were rang'd under the Walls of *Cales*, lying with their Prows to flank the *Engliſh* Ships as they enter'd, and to hinder their paſſing forward to the Galeons. *Philip* Fort play'd on the Fleet, and commanded the Harbour, ſeveral Pieces of Cannon lay along the Curtain on the Wall towards the Sea, and other Pieces of Culverin ſcour'd the Channel. When the *Spaniſh* Admiral, the St. *Philip*, perceiv'd the *Engliſh* approaching under Sail, ſhe alſo ſet Sail, and with her, the St. *Matthew*, the St. *Thomas*, the St. *Andrew*, the two great Galleaſſes of *Lisbon*, three Frigats, convoy

to their Plate Fleet from the *Havana*, two Argoſies very ſtrong in Artillery. The Admiral, Vice-Admiral, and Rear-Admiral of *Nuave Eſpagna*, with 40 other great Ships bound for *Mexico*, and other Places. Of theſe the St. *Philip*, the St. *Matthew*, the St. *Andrew*, and St. *Thomas*, four Capital Ships, came again to Anchor under the Fort of *Puntall*, in a Streight of the Harbour, which leads to *Puerto Reall*. On the Star-board ſide they plac'd the three Frigats behind them, the two Galleaſſes of *Lisbon*. The Argoſies, and the 17 Gallies, they poſted to play on the *Engliſh* as they enter'd the Harbour, and behind theſe, the Admiral, Vice-Admiral, and Rear-Admiral of *New Spain*, with the Body of the Fleet. Hoping by this great Strength to defend the Entrance, their Line reaching like a Bridge over the Streight from Point to Point, and was guarded by the Fort of *Puntall*. Sir *Walter* in the Van of the *Engliſh*, was ſaluted by Fort *Philip*, by the Cannon on the Curtain, and by all the Gallies in good Order. *Raleigh* ſcorn'd their Fire, and anſwer'd with a Flouriſh of Trumpets, without ſhooting a Gun. The Ships that follow'd him beat ſo thick on the Gallies, that they preſently betook them to their Oars, and got up to join the Galeons in the Streight. Sir *Walter* gave them ſe-

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veral Broadſides as they drove by him, and bore down on the St. *Philip* and St. *Andrew*, as more worthy his Fire. The Lord *Thomas Howard* came to an Anchor by him, Sir *Robert Southwell* in the *Lion*, did the ſame on the one ſide, and the *Dreadnaught*, and the *Mary Roſe*, on the other; the *Rainbow* lay on *Puntall* ſide, and thus they Cannonaded each other for three Hours. About 10 a Clock, the Earl of *Eſſex*, impatient to hear the Noiſe of the Guns, and to be himſelf out of the Action, made thro' the Fleet, headed the Ships on the Larboard ſide of the *Warſpight*, and Anchor'd as near Sir *Walter* as poſſible. *Raleigh* kept always cloſeſt to the Enemy, and ſtood ſingle in the Head of all. After they had play'd ſo long on the Capital Ships, Sir *Walter* went in his Skiff to the Admiral, deſiring that the Fly-Boats which were promis'd him might come up, and then he wou'd Board the Enemy; if not, he wou'd Board them with the Queen's Ship, it being the ſame to him; whether he Sunk or Burnt, and one of 'em wou'd certainly be his Fate. The Earl of *Eſſex*, and the Lord *Thomas Howard*, had aſſur'd him, they wou'd ſecond him. The Admiral was ready enough to comply with his Deſires, but the River was ſo choak'd, that he cou'd not paſs with the *Ark*, nor cou'd the large Fly-Boats come up. The Lord Admiral not to loſe

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his ſhare of the Hazard, and the Glory, went a Board the *Non-Pareill* to his Brother, the Lord *Thomas Howard*. While *Raleigh* was conſulting with him, Sir *Francis Vere* in the *Rainbow*, as Emulous of Sir *Walter*'s Honour, as Ambitious of his own, and thinking it a blemiſh to ride behind for ſo many Hours, got a Head of the *Warſpight*, which the Lord *Thomas Howard* perceiving, he headed him in the *Non-Pareil*. This noble Emulation in the midſt of Danger, ſhews the Spirit of the Heroes in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign. When Sir *Walter*, who had not been abſent above a quarter of an Hour, ſaw at his return, that from being the firſt Ship he was now the third, he immediately ſlipt Anchor, and forc'd his way between the Lord *Thomas* and Sir *Francis*, getting farther a Head than he was before, and lying Croſs the Channel, that none for that Day might again *out ſtart* him. The Lord General *Eſſex* puſh'd the *Dreadnaught* aſide, and came next the *Warſpight* on the Larboard ſide, *Vere*, while *Raleigh* was in the heat of the Battel, and had not leiſure to obſerve him, faſten'd a Rope to the ſide of the *Warſpight* to draw his own Ship up, equally with her. But ſome of the Ship's Crew giving Sir *Walter* Notice, he caus'd it to be cut off, and the *Rainbow* fell back into her Place, and *Raleigh*'s Ship cover'd her ſo well, that the Enemy

Enemy ſaw nothing of her but her Prow. Sir *Walter* diſpairing of the Fly-Boats, and depending on the Lord *Eſſex*, and Lord *Thomas Howard*'s Promiſes to aſſiſt him, laid out a Warp by the ſide of the St. *Philip* to cloſe with her; the Wind hindring him otherwiſe to Board her. When the *Spaniſh* Admiral, and the Commanders of the three other Capital Ships, found that the Lord *Thomas*, and the Rear-Admiral of the *Engliſh*, began to do the like: They all ſlipt Anchor, and ran a Ground, their Soldiers and Mariners tumbled into the Sea, ſome were drown'd, ſome ſtuck in the Mud; the Admiral burnt the St. *Philip*, and the Captain of the St. *Thomas*, did the ſame by his Ship. The St. *Matthew*, and the St. *Andrew*, were ſav'd by the *Engliſh* Boats before they took Fire. The *Engliſh* after the Victory, ſpar'd the Lives of all the *Spaniards* they met with. But the *Dutch*, who did little or nothing in the Fight, put all to the Sword; till they were beaten off by Sir *Walter*, and the Lord Admiral. There were only ſeven *Engliſh* Ships in the Engagement, and againſt them were,

6 Large Galeons,
2 Argoſies,
3 Frigats,
17 Gallies,

3 Men

3 Men of War, convoy to the Fleet to *New Spain.*
40 Ships fit for Action, bound to — *Peru* and *Mexico.*
In all 71 And thoſe cover'd by the *Puntall.* The *Engliſh* obtain'd the Victory, without the Aſſiſtance of the *Flemings*, tho' they had ſeveral Frigats in the Fleet. The Honour of the Day is chiefly due to the Courage and Conduct of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and the ſucceſs at Sea very much forwarded the taking of *Cales.* After the *Spaniſh* Ships were deſtroy'd, the General prepar'd to Land the Army, and attempt the City, in which were 5000 Citizens, 150 Soldiers in pay, about 800 Horſe of the Gentry of *Xerez*, who came to aſſiſt the Townſmen, on the appearance of the *Engliſh* Fleet off Cape St. *Mary.* The Horſe ſally'd out to reſiſt the *Engliſh* at their Landing at *Puntall*, a League from *Cales.* They charg'd them boldly, and were ſo well receiv'd by the Earl of *Eſſex*, and his Men, that part of 'em took their way towards the Bridge, which leads into the Main, call'd, *Puente Souſe*, and the reſt retir'd to the Town ſo cloſely purſu'd, that in a Affright they left their Horſes at the Gate, which the Inhabitants durſt not open to let them in, and they were forc'd to leap down an old Wall into the Suburbs. The *Engliſh* were ſo near at their Heels, that the

the Lord General *Eſſex* ſaw how they got down, and thought his Men might do the like. *Arthur Savage* and *Samuel Bagnall*, who were Knighted for their Valour, ſhew'd them the way, and being bravely follow'd by the Earl and his Soldiers, they carry'd all before them. Sir *Walter Raleigh* was Wounded in the Leg with a Splinter ſhot in the Sea fight, but being deſirous to Incourage the Army with his Preſence, he order'd his Men to bear him aſhoar on their ſhoulders, and to mount him on a Horſe which the Lord Admiral ſent him. *Raleigh*, *Vere*, and other *Engliſh* Commanders forc'd the Gates, and Enter'd the Town, to ſupport the Lord *Eſſex*, who got in before them leaping down from the Wall. The Caſtle ſurrendred the next day on Articles. The *Engliſh* loſt very few Men; no Officer of Note except Sir *John Wingfeild*, who was ſhot in the Market-Place. The City was given to Plunder, and the Caſtle redeem'd for 550000 Ducats. Sir *Walter* ſtaid but an Hour in *Cales*. The pain he was in, and the Diſorder of the Soldiers, who ſhew'd no Reſpect of Perſons in that time of Spoil and Rapin, made him, for his eaſe, return to the Fleet; the rather, for that all the Flag-Officers were in *Cales*: and few or none of the Seamen left aboard, *all running headlong to the Sack*. But 'twas after they had done their Buſi-

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neſs; and not ſo haſtily, as in our late Expedition to the ſame Place. Happy for *England*, had his Grace the Duke of *Ormond* been better Obey'd, and the Example of the Lord *Eſſex* and Sir *Walter Raleigh* been ſet before thoſe Gentlemen that ſerv'd under him. How Glorious had the laſt Campaign been, if the Conqueſt of *Cales* had Crown'd the *Fortunate* Action at *Vigo*. Let us ſtill hope, that this is an Acquiſition remaining to add new Trophies to her Majeſty's Triumphs, and new Laurels to thoſe the Duke of *Ormond* has already won in the Service of his Country. The next morning Sir *Walter* ſent to the Lord Admiral for Orders to follow the *Spaniſh Weſt-India* Fleet outward bound, lying then in *Puerto Reall*, where they cou'd not eſcape him, but in the hurry and confuſion every one was in on the taking the Town this Opportunity was ſlipt, and no Anſwer ſent to his Deſire. In the Afternoon the Merchants of *Sevill* and *Cales* offer'd Two Millions to ſave thoſe Ships, and while the Bargain hung, the Duke of *Medina Sidonia* caus'd all that rich Fleet to be burnt; and thus were the Galleons, Gallies, Frigats, Argoſies, and the Fleets of *New Spain* Royal and Trading conſum'd, not one eſcaping except the St. *Matthew*, and the St. *Andrew* in poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*. The Town was very rich in Merchandiſe and Plate. Many wealthy

wealthy Priſoners were given to the Land Commanders, who were enrich'd by their Ranſom; ſome had 10, ſome 16, ſome 20000 Ducats for their Priſoners; others had Houſes and Goods giv'n them, and ſold them to the Owners for vaſt Sums of Money. Sir *Walter* got, to uſe his own Words, *a lame Leg, and a deform'd; for the reſt he either ſpoke too late, or 'twas otherwiſe reſolv'd; he wanted not good Words, yet had poſſeſſion of naught but Poverty and Pain.* Thoſe who are acquainted with his Character will believe he loſt nothing for want of Asking, and *Eſſex*'s neglect of him was the ground of that Animoſity between him and *Raleigh*, which prov'd fatal to the Earl, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. The whole Loſs of the *Spaniards* is computed at 20 Millions of Ducats.

'Twas Agreed at a Councel of War to quit the Town, contrary to the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Judgment, who was for keeping it, the better to annoy the *Spaniards*. Sir *Walter* demonſtrated the Impoſſibility of Lodging themſelves there, with the Forces they had with them. That the Soldiers and Seamen were ſick, and Proviſions wanting; the Lord *Eſſex* offer'd to ſupply him with Neceſſaries, and perſiſted in his Opinion to ſtay. But the Councel of War determin'd otherwiſe, and reſolv'd to content themſelves with what they had got; to ſpoil the

the Iſland, and demoliſh the Fort, and then make the beſt of their way Home. In their return they took *Faro* in *Algarva*, and Plunder'd it, and afterwards happily arriv'd in *England*, where they were Welcome to the Queen, and to her People, and none more than Sir *Walter Raleigh*, to whoſe Councels her Majeſty believ'd ſhe was indebted for the ſucceſs of her Arms.

The Catholick King, to revenge his Loſſes at *Cales*, fitted out a Fleet for *England*, And *Ireland*, to Pillage, Sack and Burn the Coaſt Towns in thoſe Kingdoms. This Enterprize came to nothing, moſt of his Ships were deſtroy'd by Tempeſts, and the ſhatter'd remains were diſabled. Yet the *Spaniard* ſtill burning with Revenge, and Invited by the Papiſts in *Ireland*, Equipt a new Fleet, to tranſport Soldiers thither in the Year 1597, of which the Queen having Information, ſhe prepar'd a Fleet of 120 Ships, 17 of the Navy Royal, 43 Hir'd Ships, and the reſt Tenders, divided into three Squadrons. The Lord *Eſſex* Commanded the firſt, the Lord *Thomas Howard* the ſecond, and Sir *Walter Raleigh* the third; with theſe went the Lord *Mountjoy*, Sir *Francis Vere*, Sir *George Carew*, Sir *Chriſtopher Blount*, the Earls of *Rutland* and *Southampton*, the Lords *Grey*, *Cromwell*, *Rich*, and others of the Nobility and Gentry. Theſe Preparations were made to meet the *Spaniards*, and pre-

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vent their Tranſporting any Forces to *Ireland*, where the Earls of *Deſmond* and *Kildare*, tho' often compell'd to be quiet, waited for their Aſſiſtance to raiſe new Troubles. Sir *Walter*'s Fame was now at the height for his Experience in Maritime Affairs, and he had no Rival to diſpute the Preference with him, yet the Earl of *Eſſex* being the Darling of Court and Country; the chief Command of this Expedition was Conferr'd on him. The 9th. of *July* the Fleet ſet ſail from *Plimouth*, with Inſtructions to ſteer to *Ferol*, and the *Groyne*, to ſurprize the *Spaniards* in their Harbours, and intercept their Ships from *India* at the *Azores*. They had not been long at Sea before they were overtaken by a terrible Storm, which diſabled moſt of their Ships, and broke their Meaſures. They call'd a Councel of War, of whom ſome were for proſecuting the Deſign of Touching at *Ferol*, and the *Groyne*, others for proceeding directly to the *Azores*, againſt which Sir *Francis Vere* proteſted. At laſt, the Tempeſt increaſing after they had Rid it out four days, the whole Fleet put back to *Plimouth* very much ſhatter'd, and *Eſſex* and *Raleigh* went thence Poſt to the Queen for farther Orders. *Eſſex* boaſted what he wou'd do if he had the Fleet ſolely at his Command, and burning the *Spaniſh* Ships at *Ferol* was the leaſt of his Promiſes. Sir *Walter* had

more Years over his head, and ſpoke with more caution. He advis'd her Majeſty to Order them to make directly to the *Azores*, and there wait for the *India* Men, which Advice the Queen hearken'd to as the moſt ſafe, and the moſt likely to ſucceed. Sir *John Burroughs*'s good Fortune, in the ſame Station, was Encouragement enough to try again what might be done that way. Her Majeſty to pleaſe *Eſſex*, gave 'em general Inſtructions to attack the *Spaniards* in their Harbours, if it might be done with eaſe; if not, to proceed to the *Azores*. With theſe Orders they haſten'd back to *Plimouth*, and put to Sea a ſecond time, but the Wind preſently fell in againſt them, and drove 'em back to the *Sound*.

The 17th. of *Auguſt* they again ſet ſail; the Ships were mended, and the Seamen in heart, but before they got to the Lands-End they were ſeparated by a third Storm, a Croſs-Yard in the *Warſpight*, *Raleigh*'s Ship, was broken by the Violence of the Weather; and having receiv'd falſe Information, that the *Spaniſh India* Fleet was bound for the *Azores*, after he had repair'd his Ships he ſteer'd his Courſe to thoſe Iſlands. Two of the great Prizes taken in the Year 88 were loſt in this Tempeſt, one Foundred, and the other was never heard of. Tho' the Weather was ſo boiſterous *Eſſex*'s Jealouſy, and his Flatterers, made him

him believe, that Sir *Walter* had ſeparated himſelf from the reſt of the Fleet, on purpoſe to run away with the Honour of the Enterprize, making ſure of the *Spaniſh India* Men at the *Azores*. The Difference was made up, in appearance, at the Rendezvous of the three Squadrons at the Iſland *Flores*, and *Eſſex* begg'd his Pardon, for having miſrepreſented his leaving the Fleet to the Queen. Sir *Walter* was not ſatisfy'd with *Eſſex*'s Complement, and ever after they were inveterate Enemies. *Raleigh* being in diſtreſs for want of Water landed at *Flores* without asking leave of the General, who order'd him before he had water'd to follow him to *Fayall*, which he did; and getting there before *Eſſex*, took a view of the Fort, call'd a Councel of War, and both the Officers and Gentlemen Volunteers perſwaded him to Attack the Place. The Soldiers animated with hopes of Plunder preſently Maſter'd the Town, and were diſappointed in their expectation of Booty, the Inhabitants having remov'd their beſt Effects apprehending the danger they were in. Sir *Giles Merrick*, a Creature of the Earl of *Eſſex*, was againſt his Landing, but either his Thirſt of Fame, or his own and his Soldiers Avarice, urg'd him to do it. The General arriv'd at *Fayall* the next day, and was extreamly enrag'd with *Raleigh* for endeavouring to Rob him of the Glory. Some

wou'd have had him try Sir *Walter* by a Councel of War, and Caſhier him. Others were for putting him to Death, for Landing without Order; ſaying, *he cou'd never again have ſo fair an opportunity to get rid of his Adverſary*. The Earl proceeded firſt with *Sydney*, *Bret* and *Berry*, *Raleigh*'s Friends and Favourites, who were Caſhier'd, and put in hold. Sir *Walter* was himſelf ſent for, Frown'd on, and ſeverely Reprimanded by the General, for daring to go aſhoar without his Command; *Raleigh* reply'd, That Captains, Maſters of Ships and Subalterns, dar'd not do it under pain of Death. But the three chief Commanders, of whom himſelf was one, were not within the compaſs of the Law: That he had a long time waited his coming, and wou'd have waited longer, had not the Iſlanders provok'd him to fight. The Lord *Thomas Howard* hearing his Apology mediated between them, and advis'd Sir *Walter* to Acknowledge his Fault, which he did, and they were ſeemingly good Friends for the preſent. The diſplac'd Captains were reſtor'd, and the under Officers and Soldiers pardon'd. The Lord *Eſſex* in the heat of his Reſentment had ſo much Generoſity, as to anſwer one who bad him try *Raleigh* by a Councel of War, and Cut off his Head, *That I wou'd do if he were my Friend*. After burning *Fayall*, taking and ſacking *Flores*, *Gratioſa*, and

and *Villa Franca* in St. *Michael*'s, three *Spaniſh* Ships from *America*, and ſinking a third, the Fleet made Home, in their way they met with another dreadful Storm, and torn and leaky arriv'd at *Plimouth* in *October*; having been unfortunate in all their Deſigns, occaſion'd as much by the differences between the chief Officers, as by the bad Weather.

All the blame was laid on *Raleigh* by the Populace, who were fonder of *Eſſex* than the Queen was. For now his imperious Temper grew ſo very troubleſome to her, that ſhe cou'd bear it no longer. He was diſguſted that Sir *Francis Vere* was made Governor of the *Brill*, that the Lord *Charles Howard* was highly extoll'd in the Patent, that created him Earl of *Nottingham* for his good Service at *Cales*, which he thought, derogated from his Honour, that Sir *Robert Cecil*, who was *Raleigh*'s Friend, as long as Fortune was a Friend to *Raleigh*, had the Secretary's Office given him. Theſe ſlights were evident Signs of the Earl of *Eſſex*'s declining in her Majeſty's Favour, in which Sir *Walter* continu'd firm. The Earl's Misfortune in *Ireland*, and the Queen's cold Reception of him when he came back, made him deſperate, and being puſh'd on by *Cuffe*, his Secretary, Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt*, and other Factious Perſons, he was blind to his own Intereſt; and madly

ſought to ſupport himſelf by the Protection of the *Scots* King He endeavour'd to draw him to his Aſſiſtance by inſinuating, that the Power of the Nation lay in the Hands of ſuch as wiſh'd ill to his Succeſſion. That *Raleigh*, his Enemy, was Captain of the Guards, Governor of *Jerſey*, &c. and deſir'd him to demand that Sir *Walter*, and others their joint Adverſaries, might be remov'd from Court. The *Scots* King did not care to talk of the Crown till Queen *Elizabeth* was in her Grave, and refus'd to concern himſelf in the Quarrel. Then the Earl, who had lately careſt the *Puritans*, preſuming on the Love of the Citizens of *London*, where that Party were predominant, threw himſelf into their Arms, and pray'd them to protect him. He had contriv'd, if the Citizens had come into him to ſeize the Queen, and ſecure *Raleigh*, his moſt conſiderable Enemy. *Gorges*, Governor of *Plimouth*, gave Sir *Walter* information of the Conſpiracy. The Lord *Eſſex* had invited him to join in it, and thought he might depend on him, for that he had formerly been his Friend. *Eſſex* fled to the City in *February* 1601. and pretended to Sir *Thomas Smith*, one of the Sheriffs, that *Raleigh* had plotted againſt his Life, crying out aloud in the Streets, *For the Queen, for the Queen, they lay wait for my Life*, a few of the Rabble unarm'd came a-

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bout him, who on the Report of the Lord Admiral's Approach with ſome of the Queen's Troops, diſpers'd, and the Earl with the Lord *Southampton*, and ſome other Noblemen and Gentlemen retir'd to his Houſe, where he deliver'd himſelf up to the Lord Keeper, Sir *Thomas Egerton*, the ſame Day. On the 19th of the ſame Month, he was Try'd by his Peers, Condemn'd, and on the 25th Beheaded, on the *Parade* in the *Tower*. *Raleigh* was cenſur'd for being preſent at his Execution, which looking indecent; Sir *Walter* retir'd into the Armoury, and from thence unſeen, beheld the Fate of his Enemy. His Curioſity was certainly too Inſulting, and will take off ſomething of the Readers pity for him, when his own ſad Hour comes on. *Cecil* and *Raleigh* aggravated his Crimes at his Trial, and ſhew'd too much Earneſtneſs in preſſing the Queen to Sign the Warrant for his Executi-on, which ſhe countermanded once, but at laſt ſhe was prevail'd with to give Order hat he ſhou'd die. Sir *Charles Davers*, Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt*, were Try'd and Beheaded, Sir *Giles Merrick* and *Cuffe* were Hang'd. Sir *Richard Bainham*, *Littleton* and *Orell*, an old Soldier, were Try'd and Condemn'd; but for theſe Sir *Walter* procur'd a Pardon. 'Tis obſervable that Mr. *Francis Bacon*, (Lord *Verulam*) who then began to grow

Famous at the Bar, was one of the Councel, and ſpoke Virulently againſt the Lord *Eſſex*, who had been his beſt Friend and Patron.

Sir *Walter Raleigh*, was Knight of the Shire for the County of *Cornwall*, in the Parliament which ſat in the Year 1601. There were great Complaints of Monopolies, and ſeveral Members charg'd him not only with incouraging them in others, but alſo with procuring Grants and Patents of Monopoly to himſelf, particularly for Wines. He ſpoke in his defence as Learnedly and Elegantly as the Cauſe wou'd bear, and it being prov'd Notoriouſly upon him. His guilt made him bluſh in the Houſe, for there is no Eloquence nor Learning that can ſtand out againſt the Juſtice of ſo auguſt an Aſſembly.

The Queen did not long Survive her Favourite *Eſſex*, ſhe grew Melancholy when 'twas no more in her Power to ſave him, and with Grief, and old Age, dy'd the 24th of *March* 1602. having Reign'd 44 Years, four Months, and ſeven Days.

James VI. King of *Scotland*, ſucceeded her in the Throne, by the Name of *James* I. King of *Great Britain*, *France* and *Ireland*. Sir *Walter Raleigh* never favour'd the *Scots* King's Succeſſion, yet, whether he enter'd into the Conſpiracy he was accus'd of, to

prevent

prevent it, or alter it : Let the Reader believe, or not believe, from the Reaſon and Probability of the Things we are about to relate, ſuſpending our own Judgment, as not being of weight enough to decide in ſo Nice an Affair. The Truth of the Matter was this, Sir *Walter* preſented to King *James* when he came to the Crown a MS. of his own writing, containing Arguments againſt a Peace with *Spain*, which the King, and his Court talk'd off at that time ; and King *James* fearing *Raleigh*'s Councel wou'd involve him in a War, which he was afraid of, as indeed he was of any thing Military, frown'd on him, diſcourag'd his frequenting the Court, took from him the command of the Guards, and gave it to one of his *Scotſmen*, Sir *Thomas Erskin*. His Enemies did not doubt, but Sir *Walter* wou'd reſent his diſgrace, and they improv'd his reſentment to a Plot. They charg'd him with conſulting with Count *Aremberg*, the Arch-Duke *Albert*'s Envoy at the Court of *England*, with Mr. *Laurency*, a *Flanders* Merchant, *Watſon* and *Clerk*, two Prieſts, the Lord *Cobham*, Mr. *Brook* his Brother, the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, Mr. *Parham*, and others, to ſet the Crown on the Head of the Lady *Arabella Stuart*, the King's Couſin *German*, born in *England*, or to ſeize the King's Perſon, and force him to grant their Deſires, and a Pardon. To have

a Toleration of Religion. To procure Aid and Aſſiſtance from Foreign Princes, to put out, and put into Places, whom they lik'd or diſlik'd. *Laurency*, manag'd the Buſineſs in *Flanders*, and negotiated with the Arch-Duke, then Sovereign of the *Netherlands* for 2000 Men, the Lord *Grey* Commiſſion'd him to Treat for them, and he had the Promiſe of ſo many Forces to aſſiſt the Conſpirators. *Laurency* diſcover'd the Plot to *Cecil*, Secretary of State, who was Sir *Walter*'s intimate Friend, while Queen *Elizabeth* liv'd, and 'twas by his Intereſt that *Cecil* was prefer'd to Sir *Thomas Bodley* to be Secretary. The Times were now chang'd, and his new Maſter not liking his old Friend, *Cecil* choſe rather to abandon him, than his Office. *Laurency* having given ſufficient Informations of the Conſpiracy, Sir *Walter* was Impriſon'd and Try'd the 17th of *November* 1603. at *Wincheſter*, before Commiſſioners of *Oyer* and *Terminer*,

The Earl of *Suffolk*, Lord Chamberlain,
Earl of *Devon*,
Lord *Henry Howard*,
Lord *Cecil*, Secretary of State,
Lord *Wootton*.

Sir *John Stanhope*, Vice-Chamberlain,

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Popham, Lord Chief Juſtice of the *King's Bench*,
Anderſon, Lord Chief Juſtice of the *Common Pleas*,
Mr. Juſtice *Gawdy*,
Mr. Juſtice *Warburton*, and
Sir *William Wade*.

Heal, the King's Sergeant open'd the Indictment, and the Famous Lord *Coke*, then Atturney General, with bitter Aggravations ſeconded him in ſuch words as theſe, which Sir *Walter* anſwer'd with a great deal of Temper.

Coke, *I charge thee*, Raleigh, *that thou incid'ſt* Cobham *to Treat with Count* Aremberg, *all that he did was by thy Inſtigation, thou Viper; for I thou thee, thou Traitor, thou haſt a* Spaniſh *Heart, and thy ſelf art a Viper of Hell, go too, I will lay thee on thy Back for the confidenteſt Traitor that ever came to a Bar, thou art the moſt vile execrable Traitor that ever liv'd.*

Raleigh, *You ſpeak Indiſcreetly, Barbarouſly and Uncivilly.*

Coke, *I want words ſufficient to expreſs thy Viperous Treaſon.*

Raleigh,

Raleigh, *I think you want words indeed, for you have ſpoke one thing half a dozen Times.*

Coke, *Thou art an odious Fellow, thy name is hateful to all the Realm for thy Pride.*

Raleigh, *'Twill go near to prove a meaſuring caſt, between you and me.*

Coke, *Well, now I will make it appear, that there never liv'd a viler Viper upon the face of the Earth than thou.*

We have given the Reader a taſt of the Eloquence of the Bar in that Reign, to ſhew how far the hopes of Places and Preferment will ſometimes carry Men of Senſe and Learning from Reaſon and Juſtice. This *Billingſgate* way of arguing, is the more remarkable in a Perſon of the Lord *Coke*'s Character, whoſe Writings are ſtill Oracles at *Weſtminſter-Hall*; and Scolding, and calling of Names, were commonly the refuge of ſuch wretched Lawyers as were the Tools of a Party. Who having neither Senſe, Law nor Language on their ſide, thought to ſupply the want of them with Railing and Impudence. Which kind of baiting and worrying State Priſoners to Death by the King's Councel, was reviv'd by Judge *Jefferyes*, in King *Charles* and King *James* II's Reign, and it being much eaſier

eaſier to call a Man Rogue, than to prove him to be ſo, the Example he ſet was follow'd by too many, till the Reverend Bench of Judges in the Reign of King *William*, and our preſent Sovereign Queen *Anne*, frown'd upon that wicked and cruel Practice, and put an end to it. *Popham* the Chief Juſtice, whom Mr. *Cambden* calls a *Cenſorious* Perſon, behav'd himſelf very Partially: There was no Witneſs, *vivâ voce*, of any of the Fact, and the Lord *Cobham*'s Information and Confeſſion were of no Force, ſince he had retracted 'em in a Letter, which the Lord *Cecil*, who knew his Hand, read in Court, there were in it theſe Expreſſions, *Seeing my ſelf ſo near my end, for the diſcharge of my Conſcience, and freeing my ſelf from your Blood, which elſe will cry Vengeance againſt me, I proteſt upon my Salvation, I never practis'd with* Spain *by your Procurement; God ſo comfort me in this my Affliction, as you are a true Subject for any thing that I know, ſo God have mercy on my Soul, as I know no Treaſon by you.* Cobham's laſt Letter ought certainly to have weigh'd with the Jury, as much as his Confeſſion, which 'tis probable was extorted from him in his firſt Fright, by promiſes of Mercy, and threats of Puniſhment. 'Twas reſolv'd, it ſeems, that this great Man ſhou'd fall a Victim to the *Spaniſh* Faction, and tho' his

his Crime and Guilt is a Myſtery, which never has been, and never will be unfolded, yet he was convicted of it, and condemn'd to die: Some of the Jury-Men after he was Caſt, were ſo ill ſatisfy'd with the Verdict they had given, that they ask'd his Pardon on their Knees. The Queen, the King of *Denmark*, and the good Prince *Henry*, King *James*'s Eldeſt Son, believ'd him Innocent, and mediated with the King in his behalf. *Watſon*, *Clark* and *Brook*, were hang'd for the Plot; the Lord *Grey*, the Lord *Cobham*, and Sir *Griffith Markham*, were brought to the Scaffold, and there repriev'd, there having been too much Blood already Spilt, unleſs the Treaſon had been better prov'd. Sir *Walter* was remov'd from *Wincheſter* to the *Tower*. The King, tho' he hated the Man or fear'd him, which was worſe for *Raleigh*, yet that his firſt Year might not be too Sanguinary, ſuſpended the Execution for a long while, Prince *Henry* cou'd not endure to have ſo uſeful a Man pent up in Priſon, and often ſaid, *'Twas pity to keep ſuch a Bird in a Cage*. But his Father believ'd it his ſafeſt way, and that reaſon always ſway'd with King *James*. Sir *Walter* during his Confinement wrote his *Hiſtory of the World*, much eſteem'd in thoſe Days, and admir'd by the King himſelf, who affected to be thought

thought a Judge in ſuch Mattters; he publiſh'd it in the Year 1614. and 'tis ſtill commended for exactneſs of Chronology. He compos'd a ſecond Part, which reach'd down to his own Times, but he burnt it a little before his Death, *Bur* the Bookſeller complaining the firſt Volume *did not Sell.* Several other Treatiſes he wrote in the *Tower*, of which the Reader may ſee a Liſt in *Wood*'s *Athenæ Oxonienſes.* At the end of 13 Years, his Patience was quite worn out, and his Impriſonment grew every Day more and more Irkſome; he conſulted with his Friends how to procure his Liberty, and no method ſeem'd ſo feaſible as the old pretence of making Diſcoveries. He propos'd to Sir *Ralph Winwood*, Secretary of State, to find out a Gold Mine at *Guiana*, if the King wou'd give him his Freedom, and a Commiſſion to undertake the Enterprize. *Winwood* approv'd of his Propoſals, eſpecially when he ſaw ſome of the *Ore*, which Captain *Kemiſh*, Sir *Walter*'s Servant, and Companion in his Voyages preſented to him. The King conſented to it, by the Perſwaſions of the Queen, Prince *Charles*, and the Secretary. A Commiſſion was granted to him, bearing date the 26th of *Auguſt* 1616. but by *Gundamor*, the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador's means, 'twas limited that the Fleet ſhou'd commit no outrage on the King of *Spain*'s Subjects, unleſs they began firſt.

By

By Virtue of his Commiſſion, Sir *Walter* had Power to Equip what Number of Ships he thought Convenient, and ſeveral Gentlemen and Merchants join'd in the Adventure, hoping the Gold Mine wou'd turn well to Account. The King commanded him, to give him under his Hand a Liſt of the Ships and Men he deſign'd to take with him, what Country he intended to Sail to, what Rivers to ſearch, which very Paper *Raleigh*'s Men found in the Governor of St. *Thomas*'s Houſe, when they took the Place; yet King *James* had promis'd *on the Word of a King* to keep it ſecret. *Gundamor* got it out of him, and ſent it to the *Weſt-Indies*, that the *Spaniards* might be on their Guard. With Sir *Walter*, went Sir *Warham* St. *Leger* his Lieutenant, Captain *Parker*, the Lord *Mount-eagle*'s Brother, and Captain *North*, the Lord *North*'s, Mr. *Raleigh*, his eldeſt Son, Mr. *Knevet*, Mr. *Hammond*, Mr. *Langworth*, Mr. *Bleſſington*, Mr. *Leak*, Sir *John Hambden*, Sir *John Fern*, Captain *Pennington*, and other Gentlemen of Note.

In *September* 1617. he ſet Sail from *Plimouth* with 12 Ships in his Company, and on the 17th of *November* had ſight of *Guiana*. He anchor'd in five Degrees of the River *Galliano*. Here he was taken ill, and his own Ship ran a Ground, but got off again. On the 4th of *December*, he order'd

five

five ſmall Ships to ſail into the River *Orenoque*; aboard theſe 5 Veſſels were 5 Companies of 50 Men each; the firſt Commanded by Captain *Parker*, the 2d. by Capt. *North*, the 3d. by Mr. *Raleigh*, the 4th. by Captain *Thomex*, the 5th. by Capt. *Chidley*. *Kemiſh* was their Conductor to the Mine. They found preſently the *Spaniards* had Notice of their coming, and were prepar'd to receive them. They ſhot at the *Engliſh* both with their great and ſmall Shot, and the *Spaniards* being the Aggreſſors the *Engliſh* landed, drove them to the Town, enter'd it with them, and Plunder'd it. Mr. *Raleigh*, the General's Son, was kill'd in the Action, he himſelf ſtaid at *Trinidado* with the other Ships, reſolving rather to Burn than yield, had the *Spaniſh Armada* attack'd him. Capt. *Kemiſh* made up the River with his Veſſels, but in moſt places near the Mine he cou'd not get within a Mile of the ſhoar the River was ſo ſhallow; and where they cou'd have made a Deſcent, Vollies of Musket-ſhot came from the Woods on their Boats, and *Kemiſh* did not proceed to the Mine, ſaying in his Excuſe, that the *Engliſh* cou'd not defend St. *Thomas*, the Town they had taken: That the Paſſages to the Mine were thick and unpaſſable Woods, and that ſuppoſing they had diſcover'd the Mine, they had no Men to work it. For theſe Reaſons he concluded

ded 'twas beſt not to open it at all. The *Spaniards* had themſelves ſeveral Gold and Silver Mines near the Town, which were uſeleſs for want of Negroes. At *Kemiſh*'s return *Raleigh* told him, *he had undone him, and wounded his Credit with the King paſt recovery*; which Reproach his Servant reſented ſo much, that he went into his Cabin and ſhot himſelf. Sir *Walter* ſaid, when he heard his Son was ſlain, he matter'd not the loſing 100 Men ſo his Reputation had been ſav'd. He was afraid of the King's Diſpleaſure, and with Grief and Sickneſs brought very low in his Health. He is blam'd for not going up the River himſelf, which his Indiſpoſition wou'd not ſuffer him to do. Nine Weeks was *Kemiſh* ſearching the River, all that time his Maſter ſtaid at *Ponta Gallo* nearer Death than Life, yet the Misfortune and Diſappointment he met with did not alter his Reſolution of returning Home; tho' ſeveral of his Men were for Landing and ſettling themſelves at *Newfoundland*, others were for going to *Holland*, but the major part of his Company were of his own Opinion to come back to *England* happen what wou'd; ſo rather like a Priſoner than General he arriv'd with his leaky Ships firſt at *Kinſale* in *Ireland*, then at *Plimouth*.

Gundomar, on the News of the Sack of *St. Thomas*, and killing 500 *Spaniards*, demanded Audience of the King, and when he

he came into the Preſence cry'd out, *Pyrates, Pyrates, Pyrates*; King *James*, at his Solli-tation, publiſh'd a Proclamation to Appre-hend Sir *Walter Raleigh* on his arrival at *Plimouth*, and Sir *Lewis Stukely*, Vice-Ad-miral of *Devon*, had Orders to ſeize him, and bring him up to Town, which he did. On the Road *Raleigh* took a Powder of a Quack at *Salisbury* that made him break out, and look very ghaſtly, hoping, by his Looks, to move the King's Compaſſion, which wou'd not have been difficult, had that Prince's Pity been ſo eaſily touch'd as his Fear. When he came to *London* he deſpair'd of Life, and contriv'd his Eſcape, but was taken in his way to *Graveſend*, and ſent to the *Tower*. Sir *Lewis Stukely* betray'd him, after he had ſworn to Aſſiſt him, and keep the Deſign ſecret. The Traytor receiv'd the juſt Reward of his Treaſon, and was him-ſelf Hang'd for Coining. King *James* cou'd not try Sir *Walter* for exceeding his Com-miſſion, the Acts of Hoſtility committed on the *Spaniards* were done beyond the *Line*, and the Articles of Peace between the two Crowns did not extend ſo far. Beſides, the *Spaniards* began firſt, and the *Spaniſh* Fa-ction were afraid if *Raleigh* were brought to his Tryal on that Account a Jury wou'd Acquit him, for the People were generally averſe to the King's fondneſs of *Gundomar*, and a Peace with *Spain*. So he was Com-

manded up to the *Kings-Bench* Bar before the Lord Chief Juſtice *Mountague*, and the Judges his Brethren, where the old Judgment was averr'd againſt him, and he was ask'd what he had to ſay to his Sentence to Dye like a Traytor. He pleaded his late Commiſſion, *which was judg'd by Lawyers equivalent to a Pardon.* They over-rul'd his Plea, and he was order'd to prepare for Death, the manner of Executing his Sentence being alter'd to the Ax, which he ſaid ſmiling, *was a ſharp Medicine, but a ſound Cure of all Diſeaſes*, having on him at that time a Fit of an Ague and Fever. He Petition'd the King, and Monſieur *de Noion* the *French* Ambaſſador was earneſt with him to ſave him, as he had often been before. But the *Frenchman*'s Interceſſion was not ſo effectual as the *Spaniards* Remonſtrance.

On *Tueſday* the 29th of *October* 1618, he was Convey'd by the Sheriffs of *London*, to a Scaffold in the *Old Palace Yard* at *Weſtminſter*, where he appear'd with a chearful Countenance, Saluting the Lords and Gentlemen of his Acquaintance there preſent. He made a long Speech in Vindication of his Voyage to *Guiana*, and clear'd the Lords *Carew* and *Doncaſter*, who were ſaid to be privy to his intended Eſcape. Then all Perſons were bid to leave him, and go off the Scaffold. He pray'd to himſelf, gave his

his Hat, and ſome Money, to his Servants, and others that he knew; and having bid his Friends *Farewell*, he turn'd to the Lord *Arundel*, and deſir'd him to pray the King not to ſuffer any ſcandalous Writings to be publiſh'd of him, ſaying, *I have a long Journey to go, and therefore I muſt take my leave.* He put off his Gown, and call'd to the Executioner for the Ax, which was not ſhewn him ſo ſoon as he expected. Sir *Walter* ſaid to him, *Prithee let me ſee it; Doſt think I am afraid?* After he had touch'd it he went about the Scaffold, entreating the Spectators to pray to God to aſſiſt and ſupport him. When he was ask'd how he would Lye, he reply'd, *So the Heart be right, 'tis no matter which way the Head lies.* He ſtretch'd himſelf along, laid his Head on the Block, ſaid a ſhort Prayer to himſelf, and then gave a Sign, upon which at two Blows his Head was ſever'd from his Body.

He was a handſome Man, had a good Preſence, a great deal of Wit, a better Judgment, and was eminent as a Statesman, Soldier, Seaman, Chymiſt, Hiſtorian, and, indeed, converſant in all ſorts of Learning. *A Man*, ſays Mr. *Cambden*, *never ſufficiently to be Commended, for the great pains he took to recover remote Countries, and to Advance the Glory of the* Engliſh *Navigation.*

He Dy'd a Hero, as he Liv'd, and in the laſt part of his Life recanted the Deiſtical Opinions he imbib'd in his Converſation with Mr. *Heriot*, the famous Mathematician, whom he carry'd with him to *Virginia* in 1584 to Survey the Ground. He behav'd himſelf on the Scaffold like a Chriſtian, a Soldier, and a Gentleman, and was pitty'd by all honeſt Men, even by his Enemies, who were only ſuch out of Envy to the Advantages he had over them by the Excellence of his Genius; yet with all his high Qualities he had his Faults. He was Ambitious of Power, and Covetous of Money. His Jealouſy of the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Favor and Fame, and his Promoting Monopolies, are Inſtances of both; and his Perſecuting Dr. *Godwyn*, Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, for many Years, becauſe he wou'd not part with the Mannor of *Banwell* in *Somerſetſhire* from that See, ſhews he was too greedy of Grants. Whether he was Guilty of the Crime for which he Dy'd is left dark to the Reader, as we found it. But his Execution Fifteen Years after Sentence, and after King *James* had given him a large Commiſſion over the Lives of Hundreds of his Subjects, is a Blot on that Reign, which, among many others, no Rhetorick can wipe off.

He left one Son *Carew Raleigh* Eſquire, who was Born in the *Tower*, was Bred at the Univerſity, and Inns of Court; was a Servant of King *Charles* the Firſt's Houſehold, and made Governor of *Jerſey* by *Monk* in 1659, which Government his Father held before him.

THE LIFE OF *George* Duke of *Buckingham.*

PART I.

SIR *Henry Wotton*, who wrote the Life of this Famous Favourite, ſeems ſo Partial in his Hiſtory, that we were tempted to give the World another Account of him more conformable to Truth, and written at a time when we cannot be ſuſpected to be guilty of Flattery.

George

George Villiers, whoſe Life we write, was the third Son of Sir *George Villiers* of *Brookesby*, in *Leiceſterſhire*, by his ſecond Wife, *Mary Beaumont*, Daughter of *Anthony Beaumont*, a younger Son of *William Beaumont* of *Colehorton*, Eſq; He had no Fortune by his ſecond Lady, which gave riſe to the ſcandal of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Enemies, that ſhe was a Servant. She liv'd, 'tis true, with her Aunt *Beaumont* of *Colehorton*. But her Relation to that Family procur'd her Settlement in it, more than her Service. She was very handſome, and Sir *George Villiers* falling in Love with her at a Viſit, he made to his Kinſwoman Mrs. *Beaumont*, marry'd her, and had ſeveral Children by her, who roſe to great Offices, and Honours in the State, and were created Peers and Peereſſes, while their elder Brother, Sir *William Villiers*, by Sir *George*'s firſt Lady, was contented with a Patent for a Baronet, a new Title created by King *James* I. to raiſe 100000 *l.* by it, and as many Gentlemen ſubſcrib'd as brought that Sum into the *Exchequer*.

George Villiers, was born the 28th of *Auguſt* 1592. at *Brookesby*, and educated afterwards at *Billeſden* School, in the ſame County, till he was in his thirteenth Year. His Father then dy'd, and his Mother ſeeing him as Beautiful, as he was Witty, thought to breed him up for a fine Gentleman,

man, rather than to make a Scholar of him, tho' his Genius qualify'd him for the latter, as much as his Inclination lead him to Dance, Dreſs, Fencing, Muſick, and all the gallant Exerciſes of thoſe Days. When he was 18 Years of Age his Mother ſent him to *Paris*, to perfect himſelf in the Modes and Faſhions of the *French* Court, and to learn the Languages: His ſmall Penſion wou'd not permit him to ſtay long there, after he was grown up to Manhood; ſo he was recall'd Home. He ſtaid a twelve Month with the Lady *Villiers* at *Godeby*, and then went to *London* to woo a Daughter of Sir *Roger Aſhton*, a Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, and Maſter of the Robes.

He came to *White-Hall* in a Reign, when the *Scots* were as Numerous there as the *Engliſh*, and every Man who had thoughts of riſing, found it his Intereſt to make acquaintance with the Gentlemen of that Nation. Mr. *Villiers* enter'd into a Friendſhip with Sir *John Graham* of the Privy-Chamber, and he perſwaded him to prefer a Fortune got at Court, to one by a Wife, tho' Malice ſaid, that he cou'd not go on with his Match for want of 100 Marks to anſwer the Expence it put him to. By his frequenting the Court, he became known to the King, *and his fine Shape, and ſweet Diſpo-*

Diſpoſition, ſays Sir *William Dugdale*, made his Majeſty firſt take notice of him. The King did not diſcover his Kindneſs for him, till in a Progreſs at *Apethorp* in *Northamptonſhire*, he took Sir *John Graham*, *Villiers*'s Friend aſide, told him, how well he lik d the young Gentleman, and gave him private Directions how, and by what Degrees he ſhou'd bring him into Buſineſs. 'Twas time for his Majeſty to ſhew himſelf Liberal; for Mr. *Villiers*, who had no more than 50 *l.* a Year, had already brought that poor Portion to a low Ebb, and began to be in great want of Supplies.

The Queen weary of *Car*, Earl of *Somerſet*'s oppreſſion under his Maſter, King *James*, perceiv'd preſently that his Majeſty look'd kindly on *Villiers*, and conſulting with *Abbot*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, no great Friend of *Somerſet*'s, they reſolv'd to introduce the new Favourite, and play him againſt the old one. The Earl of *Montgomery*, the Earls of *Hertford* and *Bedford*, and ſome other Lords met at *Baynards-Caſtle*, *Montgomery*'s Houſe, and there contriv'd the means to ruin *Somerſet*, by joining with the Queen, and the Arch-biſhop, to get *Villiers* to ſucceed *Car* in the King's favour; and ſince, they ſaid, his Majeſty cou'd not live without a Minion to preſent him with one, whom they thought wou'd not be

be ſo inſolent as *Somerſet*, and of whom he already appear'd Fond. And is this an inſtance of King *James*'s Knowledge in the Science of *King Craft*, to make a young Gentleman of 22 Years of Age a Miniſter of State? 'Twas a Character this King mightily affected, but if we judge of his Politicks, by the ſucceſs of his Councels, there never was a Prince on the Throne of *England*, who leſs deſerv'd it than himſelf, *A Man* ſays, Dr. *Davenant* in a late Treatiſe, *Can be no more born a Stateſman, than a Phyſitian, or a Lawyer, and let the Mind be never ſo happily diſpos'd, Time muſt ripen what is begot by Nature*, and in the next Page, *Pierce Gaveſton, Hugh Spencer*, and the Duke of *Buckingham*, *are ſufficient Inſtances, that the Conduct of young Miniſters is ſeldom ſucceſsful to themſelves, nor to their Maſters.*

The firſt Poſt Mr. *Villiers* was prefer'd to was that of Cup-bearer to the King, and in his attendance, another elder Waiter, ſeeing him take Precedence of him, remov'd him as his Junior, which ſo offended him, that he gave him a Box on the Ear. The Gentleman was one of *Somerſet*'s Creatures, and *Car* being Lord Chamberlain, proſecuted the Cup-bearer for ſtriking in the Court. The Crime was plainly prov'd, the Puniſhment, the loſs of his Right-hand. But the King pardon'd him,

him, without obliging him to give the Complainant any Satisfaction. On this the Lords, who had plotted together to ruin *Somerset*, addreſs'd the Queen to recommend Mr. *Villiers* to his Majeſty, and ſhe did it ſo effectually, that the King finding his own Inclinations confirm'd by his Wife's Judgment, made haſt to advance him. He was Knighted in the Queen's Bed-Chamber with the Prince's *Rapier*, and ſworn one of the Gentlemen of his Majeſty's Bed-Chamber. *Somerſet*, when he gave him his Oath, wou'd have done it as Groom, but the King commanded him to be receiv'd as Gentleman.

The 23d of *April* 1615. a Thouſand Pound a Year was ſettled on him out of the Court of Wards. The 4th of *January* on the Reſignation of the old Earl of *Worceſter*, who had been Maſter of the Horſe to Queen *Elizabeth*, and continu'd in the Office to King *James* till now. Sir *George Villiers* ſucceeded him as Maſter of the Horſe, the King paying down what the Lord *Worceſter* valu'd his place at. He was Inſtall'd Knight of the Garter the 24th of *April* 1616. and the 17th of *Auguſt* created Baron of *Whaddon* in *Bucks*, a great Mannour belonging to the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, attainted for the Plot commonly call'd, *Sir* Walter Raleigh's *Treaſon*. *Grey*'s Eſtate was given him, at the ſame time that he

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was made a Peer. He was ſoon after created Viſcount *Villiers* at *Woodſtock*, and the 5th of *January* Earl of *Buckingham*, as alſo one of the Lords of the Privy Council. What he did for theſe Poſſeſſions and Honours is kept a Secret, and as yet Hiſtory makes no mention of him for any thing but Dancing well, and for his good Nature. His Maſter was a Prince fond of Peace, and 'tis no wonder that thoſe who were of peaceable Diſpoſitions like himſelf, ſhou'd ſhare his Royal Bounty.

In 1617 he took his new Favourite with him to *Scotland*, and had him Sworn of his Privy Council in that Kingdom. When he return'd to *Whitehall* the Earl was created Marquiſs of *Buckingham* the 1ſt. of *January* 1617, and the Year following Lord High Admiral of *England*, *Ireland* and *Wales*, tho' ſcarce ſix and twenty Years of Age; Juſtice in Eyre of all *England*, and Maſter of the *Kings-Bench* Office, High Steward of *Weſtminſter*, and Conſtable of *Windſor Caſtle*, the Earl of *Nottingham* being bought out of his Place, as the Earl of *Worceſter* had been out of that of Maſter of the Horſe. To make theſe Titles and Offices the more Valuable, his Majeſty procur'd him the Daughter and Heir of the Earl of *Rutland* in Marriage, tho' 'tis ſaid he wou'd have avoided it for ſome Reaſons not very advantageous to the Lady's Honour. And he

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was in ſuch full poſſeſſion of the King's good Graces, that there was no Preferment in Church or State which did not paſs thro' his hands. His Family were all Dignify'd, His Mother made Counteſs of *Buckingham*. her Eldeſt Son Sir *John Villers* Viſcount *Purbeck*, her youngeſt Sir *Chriſtopher Villiers* Earl of *Angleſey*, and her Daughter Counteſs of *Denbigh*, by the Creation of Mr. *Fielding* her Husband, a private Gentleman, Earl of *Denbigh*. Theſe Favours were the Reward of the Marquiſs's Complacency to the King's Humour, and his incouraging the *Spaniſh* Faction at Court, ſo call'd, from their Intimacy with *Gundemar* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, who was liberal of his Gold, to divert the Council from aſſiſting the King of *Bohemia*. This Prince had Married the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, King *James*'s Eldeſt Daughter, and ſtood in need of Help to recover the *Palatinate* his Hereditary Dominion, which he loſt with the Kingdom of *Bohemia* at the Battle of *Prague*. The Lords *Buckingham*, *Arundell*, *Worceſter*, *Digby*, *Calvert*, *Weſton*, and others inclin'd to the Romiſh Religion, were for compoſing the Difference by Treaties, which had always been ineffectual; and to make the Union between *England* and *Spain* the more firm, they adviſ'd an Allyance with the Catholick King by a Match with the Infanta of *Spain*. Prince *Charles* was perſwaded

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to conſent to it by extravagant Repreſentations of that Princeſs's Beauty and Vertue. Sir *George Calvert*, a Papiſt, and Secretary of State, knew 'twou'd be a means to promote his Religion, and he, and all that Party, talk'd loudly for it. *Buckingham* was engag'd by *Gundomar*, and he ſays, *Willſon* engag'd the Clergy by his Creatures among them to be Paſſive in a Matter of the greateſt Conſequence to the Proteſtant Religion. *Digby* was ſent into *Spain*, the Marriage propos'd to the Catholick King, and the Duke of *Lerma* order'd by that King to Treat with *Digby* at *Madrid*. But the Delays that were made there not pleaſing the *Spaniſh* Faction, they put the Prince on a dangerous Voyage to *Spain* to Court his Miſtreſs in Perſon. The Marquiſs of *Buckingham*'s zeal for the Match, was the firſt Cauſe of the People's hatred. They bore well enough his ſudden Advancement, and his gay Humour was as taking with the Populace as with the King. But when they found him at the head of a Faction which they abhorr'd, they began to look on him as their Enemy, and the Great and the Vulgar alike grew angry with his good Fortune. The King, by ſeveral Embaſſies into *Germany* and *Spain*, had endeavour'd to get his Son-in-Law reſtor'd to the *Palatinate*, but he was baffled in them all; and while he contented himſelf with the Flattery of his Courtiers,

Courtiers for his Maſtery in King-Craft, the *Spaniſh* Politicians were too hard for him in all his Treaties; the Match with the *Infanta*, as the learn'd *Spanhemius* obſerves in the Life of the King of *Bohemia*'s Mother, Daughter to *William* the Firſt, Pr. of *Orange*, *was the entire rooting out the Proteſtant Religion in* Bohemia, *the Loſs of the Electoral Dignity from King* James's *Grand Children, and the Ruin of the* German *Liberties.* No wonder that a Treaty of ſuch ill Conſequence was odious to the *Engliſh*; For while the King, and his Miniſters, and his Son afterwards, were abus'd with hopes of the *Infanta*, and a Peace, the Emperor, who had ſeiz'd the *Palatinate*, transferr'd it to the Houſe of *Bavaria*, and the Proteſtant League in *Germany* was broken. The Parliament, and all the King's good Councellors, were for reſtoring the King of *Bohemia* by Arms, and Treating with Sword in hand: But the *Spaniſh* Faction, ſupported by *Gundomar*'s Penſions, were for milder Ways, and King *James* was ſo much impos'd on by that Ambaſſador, that *Gundomar* wrote of him to the Duke of *Lerma*, firſt Miniſter of State at *Madrid*, *He had lull'd King* James *ſo faſt aſleep, he hop'd neither the Cries of his Daughter, nor her Children, nor the repeated Sollicitations of his Parliament and his Subjects in their behalf, ſhou'd be able to awaken him.* The *Spa-*

niards never intended the Match ſhou'd come to any thing; and when the *Infanta's* Brother came to the Crown, he wrote to the *Conde Olivarez*, who had the Management of the Affair; *The King, my Father, declar'd at his Death, that his Intent never was to Marry my Siſter, the* Infanta Donna Maria, *with the Prince of* Wales. *Your Unkle treated this Match ever with intention to delay it. It is now ſo far advanc'd, that conſidering the* Infanta's *averſeneſs, 'tis time to ſeek ſome means to divert the Treaty.* We refer the Reader to *Wilſon's* Life of K. *James*, and *Whitlock's* Memorials, for the Proof of our Quotations, we have entirely depended on their Authority; who tho' they were engag'd on the wrong Side, yet ſeem to be Impartial in their Relation of Fact; and when we do not mention any other Authors, we have in the Courſe of this Hiſtory follow'd them, whom we find to be the moſt ſincere. Tho' the Articles of Marriage were Agreed on by *Gundomar* and King *James*, yet 'tis plain the *Spaniards* made a Jeſt of it. And we thought neceſſary to ſay thus much of the Affair, to ſhew on what ſmall appearance of ſucceſs the *Spaniſh* Faction prevail'd with the Prince, to truſt himſelf with the greateſt Enemy of the Reform'd Religion.

On the 17th. of *February* 1622, the Prince ſet out for *Spain*, accompany'd only by the Marquiſs of *Buckingham*, Sir *Richard Graham*,

ham Master of the Marquiss's Horse, and formerly a Groom in his Stables, Sir *Francis Cottington*, who having been Clerk to Sir *Charles Cornwallis*'s Secretary when he was Ambassador in *Spain*, was now thought a fit Companion, and Secretary for the Prince, and *Endimion Porter*, once a Servant to Mr. *Edward Villiers*. Those Persons were afterwards in great favour, but generally esteem'd unworthy to accompany a King's Son, and Heir apparent to the Crown of *England*, being Men of as little Religion as Quality, and if they had any 'twas that of *Rome*. The Prince, and the Marquiss, had false Beards to Disguise them, and went by the Names of *Jack Smith* and *Tom Smith*. They were stopt by the Mayor of *Dover*, and *Buckingham* was forc'd to pull off his Vizard and discover himself, pretending he was going to Visit the Fleet as Lord High Admiral, so they had Liberty to take Shipping, which they did, and Landed at *Bouloign*, from whence they went Post to *Paris*, and as Travellers were admitted by the Duke of *Montbacon*, the Queen's Lord Chamberlain, to see a Mask at the *French* Court, and here, 'tis said, the Prince was Charm'd by the Princess *Henrietta Maria*, whom he Married on his Accession to the Throne. At *Bourdeaux* the Duke *d'Espernon*, Governor of *Guyenne*, Invited them to his House,

but Sir *Francis Cottington* Excus'd his Companions, as not of Quality high enough for that Honour; and Mr. *Sanderſon* in his *Hiſtory of Great Britain* ſays, he look'd ſo little like a Gentleman himſelf that the Duke believ'd him, and let them proceed. At *Bayonne* the Governor Count *de Grammont* had Information of the Prince of *Wales* being in the Company a few hours after he left the Place, and had, perhaps, offer'd ſome Affront to his Highneſs, coming into his Government, a Frontier of *Spain*, in Diſguiſe, if Fortune had not ſent the Prince out of his Province before he knew who he was.

The 6th. of *March* he arriv'd at *Madrid* at 8-a-Clock at Night, having Travell'd 750 Miles in 13 days. The Prince and the Marquiſs came thither a day before the reſt of the Company to prevent Suſpicion, and went preſently to *Digby*'s Houſe created Earl of *Briſtol*.) The Marquiſs when he alighted carried in the Portmanteau, and the Prince ſtaid without with the Guide, till *Buckingham* had prepar'd the way within for his private Reception. The Earl was ſurpriz'd at his Highneſs's ſudden arrival, not knowing any thing of the Journey before, which he afterwards made uſe of to the Marquiſs's diſadvantage. The Prince, *Buckingham* and *Briſtol* immediately held a Conſultation how to proceed, and reſolv'd tha

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the Marquiſs and *Briſtol* ſhould go to Court, and demand private Audience of the King, which they did, and he ſent his firſt Miniſter *Olivarez* the Duke of *Lerma*'s Nephew, back with them, to Congratulate the Prince of *Wales* on his arrival. *Olivarez* kneel'd at the Prince's feet, kiſs'd his Thigh, and in a Speech full of *Spaniſh* Fuſtian welcom'd him to *Madrid*, cloſing his Hyberboles with this Truth, *That he deſerv'd to have the* Infanta *thrown into his Arms, for the Honour he did the Court of* Spain *by his Preſence.* He then Complimented the Marquiſs, and told him, *Now the Prince of* England *was in* Spain *their Maſters wou'd divide the World betwixt them.* About Ten that Night the King came himſelf in a cloſe Coach to Viſit the Prince, and Careſs'd him as much as if he deſign'd to have made him his Brother. *Gundomar*, who had been before recall'd to *Madrid*, and Advanc'd for his Services in *England*, Saluted the Prince with this Complement; *I have ſtrange News to tell you, Sir, for this day an* Engliſhman *is Sworn Privy Councellor to the King of* Spain, meaning himſelf, who was, he ſaid, in his heart *Engliſh*, and had lately receiv'd that Honour. The next day his Highneſs had an Enterview with the King, and a tranſient View of his Miſtreſs at the *Prado.* The Prince was Incognito in the Duke of *Ceá*'s Coach, for his Apartment at Court was not yet

fitted up for him. The 16th. of *March* was Appointed for his Publick Entrance, which was very magnificent; the King and the Prince rode under one Canopy, his Highneſs on the right hand of the King, and next the Marquiſs of *Buckingham*, and the *Conde Olivarez*. The *Engliſh* Gentlemen, and the Grandees of *Spain* following in their Order. The Queen, and the *Infanta*, were Spectators, but when the Proceſſion drew near they retir'd, the Queen in Expectation of a Viſit, and the *Infanta* out of Decency. After the Prince had ſeen her Majeſty in her Bed-Chamber, he was Conducted by the King, and his two Brothers, to his Lodgings, where the Queen's *Major Domo* brought him a Royal Preſent, and the Counteſs *Olivarez* ſent one to the Marquiſs. His Majeſty's Officers of the Houſhold were order'd to ſerve the Prince with the ſame Ceremony as himſelf; and he had every thing he deſir'd of them but what he came for, the Sight of his Miſtreſs, which was Excus'd, for want of the Pope's Diſpenſation.

While the Pope delay'd to grant a diſpenſation. The Prince was tempted by the *Spaniſh* Miniſters to turn Roman Catholick. *Olivarez*, as *Buckingham* declar'd, had got the Earl of *Briſtol* to perſwade his Highneſs to it, by repreſenting to him, *That no King of* England *ever did much, who was not*

of that Religion, &c. *Briſtol* on the contrary accus'd *Buckingham*, that by *Olivarez* Confeſſion, *He had promis'd to aſſiſt in the Prince's Converſion.* The Pope wrote his Highneſs a Letter of Complement, to which the Prince return'd a civil Anſwer, and to ſooth him ſaid, *I entreat your Holineſs to believe, that I have always been far from encouraging Novelties, or to be a Partiſan of any Faction againſt the Catholick Apoſtolick Roman Religion.* On the Tolleration promis'd in the Articles of Marriage for the Papiſts, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Abbot*, wrote to the King againſt it, and in his Letter has theſe Expreſſions, *I beſeech your Majeſty to conſider leaſt by this Tolleration, and diſcontinuance of the true Profeſſion of the Goſpel whereby God hath bleſs'd us, and under which this Kingdom hath many Years flouriſh'd; your Majeſty do not draw upon the Kingdom in general, and your ſelf in particular, God's heavy Wrath and Judgment, thus in diſcharge of my Duty towards God, to your Majeſty, and the place of my Calling, I have taken humble Boldneſs to deliver my Conſcience, and now, Sir, do with me what you pleaſe.* The Prince's Letter to the Pope, and the Arch-Biſhops to the King, are to be found at large in *Ruſhworth* and *Whitlocke*; but neither his Grace's Letter, nor the murmurs of the People were effectual, with the King to ſet him againſt the Match.

The Pope's Diſpenſation came to *Madrid*, the Articles were ſign'd in *England*, by the Privy Councillors, and a private one by the King, for a free Exerciſe of the Roman Catholick Worſhip in all his Dominions, proteſting to do what in him lay to oblige the Parliament to confirm it; and this being accompliſh'd, King *James* was heard to cry out in a Rapture, *Now all the Devils in Hell cannot hinder it*, what a Prophet his Majeſty was, we ſhall ſee hereafter.

At *Madrid*, *Buckingham* receiv'd a Patent to be a Duke, brought him by the Lord *Carliſle*. The Earl of *Denbigh*, the Lord *Rochford*, the Lord *Kenſington*, the Lord *Cecil*, the Lord *Herbert*, the Lord *Howard*, and other young *Engliſh* Noblemen went alſo to *Spain*, to fill up the Prince's Court. As ſoon as the Lords were arriv'd at *Madrid* with the Articles, his Highneſs ratify'd them. Preparations were made in *England*, for the Infanta's Entertainment, A new Chappel built for her at St. *James*'s, The Foundation laid with much Ceremony by the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, *Don Corlos a Colomna*. The Buſineſs of the *Palatinate* was wav'd in the Treaty, King *James* being ſatisfy'd with the *Spaniards* Promiſes, that the Infanta ſhou'd make a Preſent of it to the right Owner, and thereby ingratiate her ſelf with the *Engliſh*. Winter coming on, and the Prince of *Wales* being loath to ſtay longer at *Madrid*,

drid, the *Spaniſh* Miniſters did not know how to put off the matter, with any colour of Reaſon. When luckily to ſave their Invention for Excuſes, the Pope dy'd, and a new Diſpenſation muſt be got, or nothing cou'd be done. *Buckingham* had for ſometime been out with *Olivarez*, occaſion'd by the *Spaniards* jealouſie of him, for being too well with his Lady, and his diſguſt with the Miniſter, diſguſted him with the Match. The Queen of *Bohemia* ſent the Duke an Invitation to ſtand God-father to one of her Children, at the ſame time putting him in mind of her Ruin, unleſs he ſtood her Friend, and remember'd the loſt Eſtate of her Family, which came in good time to work on him, while he was in ill Terms with the *Spaniards*, this prevail'd with him to perſwade the Prince to return; eſpecially, when he receiv'd a Letter from his Maſter, King *James*, conjuring him to bring back his Son. For the Duke of *Lenox*, the Marquiſs of *Hamilton*, and other *Scots* Favourites, were againſt the Match, and having given his Majeſty Reaſons for an Alliance with *France*, he chang'd on a ſudden; and by their Perſwaſions, or thro' fear of the Peoples diſcontent, he wrote thus to the Duke, who ſhewing it to the Prince, they reſolv'd together to leave *Spain* as ſoon as poſſible. *Olivarez* in a rage

rage came to *Buckingham*, when he heard he was for going, and reproach'd him, *for giving him ſome aſſurance and hope of the Prince's turning Catholick.* The Duke reply'd 'twas falſe, and this anſwer little better than the Lie, put the *Spaniard* in a violent Paſſion, he complain'd to his Highneſs, and 'twas expected that the event wou'd have been a Duel, or an Aſſaſſination. But the Duke departed haſtily, without taking a formal leave, pretending earneſt Buſineſs aboard the *Engliſh* Fleet, which waited for the Prince in the Port of St. *Andrew* in *Biſcay*. He gave the Court a ſhort notice of his departure, and left his Highneſs to take care of himſelf, and his Affairs, who to pleaſe the King of *Spain*, depoſited a Procuration in the Earl of *Briſtol*'s Hands; for the King and his Brother, *Don Carlos*, to marry the Infanta 10 Days after the Diſpenſation from the new Pope ſhou'd arrive. The Prince having taken his leave of the Queen, and of the Infanta. The King waited on his Highneſs to the *Eſcurial*, a Royal Seat on the Road of *Biſcay*, where they hunted a Stag, then after many Ceremonies and Salutations they parted, the 12th of *September* 1623. The Prince was attended to the Sea ſide by Cardinal *Zapata*, the Marquiſs *Aytone*, the *Condies Barajos*, *Monterei* and *Gundomar*, whom he

he feaſted aboard the *Prince Royal*, the Ship he embark'd in. When he return'd with them to Shoar, the Barge they were all in was near Periſhing by a Tempeſt which roſe ſuddenly, that danger over, the Prince Sail'd for *England*, and arriv'd at *Portſmouth* the 5th of *October*, to the great Joy of the whole Nation.

When the Duke had conſulted his Highneſs at St. *Andero*, he got him to ſend away one *Clark*, a Creature of his, with the *Spaniſh* Lords to *Madrid*. *Clark* carry'd Orders from the Prince to the Earl of *Briſtol*, not to deliver the Procuration till he heard further from *England*. The Duke, who hated *Briſtol*, laid the fault on him, and on the *Spaniards* delays, and the King readily believ'd him. The Prince and the Duke procur'd his Majeſty's Order to *Briſtol*, not to deliver the Procuration till *Chriſtmas*, as alſo to demand the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*. *Buckingham* knowing his Oppoſition to the *Spaniſh* match, wou'd make amends for his former Zeal for it, declar'd publickly againſt it, fell in with the *Puritan* Party, and adviſ'd the calling a Parliament, whom he cou'd now meet with a good Heart. The King made him Lord Warden of the *Cinque-Ports*, and ſhew'd by his joyful Reception, that he had loſt no Ground by his Abſence in his Maſter's Favour. When the Earl of *Briſtol* requir'd

requir'd the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, the Catholick King ſaid, 'Twas none of his to give, and ſent him word to demand no more Audiences of him, and to deliver no more Letters to the Infanta. Thus ended the Marriage Treaty, after ſeven Years continuance.

The 12th of *February* the Parliament met, and on the 24th the Duke of *Buckingham* accompany'd by the Prince, gave a large Relation in the Houſe of Lords of the *Spaniſh* Journey, and ſpoke of his management in the latter Part of it, as much to his own Advantage as to *Briſtol*'s Prejudice. The Parliament looking on him as the only Man, that broke of the match, cry'd him up as the Preſerver of the Nation. The People did not remember how inſtrumental he had at firſt been in the Treaty; they lov'd him for the good he had done, and forgot the ill that he wou'd have done. Thus he ſtood equally in the Affection of King and People, till *Briſtol* arriv'd from *Spain* to clear himſelf of the Crimes of which *Buckingham* had accus'd him, one was, that he had exceeded his Powers in the Treaty, ſince the Prince came from *Madrid*, and *Briſtol* throwing part of the guilt on *Buckingham*, made way for the ill Opinion which the Nation had of him in the next Reign.

The

The Parliament broke of the Treaties with *Spain*, and the King prepar'd for War, on which *Inoioſa*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, got a Perſon to accuſe the Duke of *Buckingham* as guilty of High Treaſon, in deſigning to kill the King by Poiſon, Piſtol, Dagger, or otherwiſe. The accuſer was *Pádre Majeſtrea*, a Jeſuit, who pretended he found it out under Confeſſion. The King at his next meeting with the Duke, cry'd *Stenny*, *Stenny*, (a familiar Name he us'd to call him by) *wilt thou kill me.* The Duke confounded with ſuch a Queſtion, knew not what to ſay, till recollecting himſelf, and hearing his accuſer was a *Spaniſh* Jeſuit, he eaſily convinc'd the King of the falſhood of the Accuſation, and the malice of his Enemies, the *Spaniards*, who in revenge for his bringing the Prince out of *Spain*, had rais'd that Calumny to deſtroy him. His Majeſty not only entirely gave credit to his Favourite's Vindication of himſelf, but 'twas debated in Council, whether *Inoioſa* was privileg'd by his Character from the Sword of Juſtice, for conſpiring to take off the Life of one of his Majeſty's beſt Subjects, by a falſe Charge of Treaſon. This was found by the *Civilians*, not to be ſufficient to warrant any Violence on the Ambaſſador's Perſon; however, his Majeſty order'd Sir *William Aſton*, his Envoy in *Spain*, to Complain of it to that King, but *Inoioſa* was

was only lightly check'd for his Offence, the *Spaniſh* Court being not ſo well pleas'd with *Buckingham*, as to give him any other Satisfaction. The Earl of *Briſtol*, tho' he had been ſome Months before commanded to return, yet hearing how Things went in the Parliament, and the Court, and that there was nothing better for him to hope than a Priſon, made no great haſt Home. He arriv'd at laſt, and was clapt up in the *Tower*, where he remain'd till the King, and the Duke's anger was ſomewhat appeas'd, and had then leave to retire to his Seat at *Shireburn* in *Dorſetſhire*.

In 1624. The Duke of *Bucks* remembring the Lord *Middleſex*'s backwardneſs to remit him Money into *Spain* when he was there, accus'd him in Parliament for Miſdemeanours in his Office of Lord Treaſurer, *Middleſex* was little belov'd, having been advanc'd from a Tradeſman to that high Station, and behaving himſelf inſolently in it, he fell unpity'd by every one. His Eſtate was confiſcated, and himſelf diſabl'd ſitting in the Houſe of Peers, but the Sentence did not extend to his Poſterity. The Mannor of *Chelſey*, part of the Fortune he had rais'd, was given to *Buckingham*. The match with the Infanta being quite broken off, the Lord *Kinſington* was ſent to *Paris* to make ſome Overtures of Marriage, between the Prince of *Wales*, and the Princeſs *Henrietta*

rietta *Maria*, youngeſt Daughter to *Henry* IVth of *France*. This Treaty went on happily, but the King of *England* did not live to ſee it concluded; he was taken ill at *Theobalds* in *March* of a *Tertian* Ague. The Counteſs of *Buckingham*, the Duke's Mother, dealing with Quacks, got of them a draught for the King, and a Plaiſter for his ſide, of which, when apply'd, the King much complain'd. 'Tis ſaid, the Duke told the King, they were approv'd Medicines, and very proper in his Caſe. The King's Phyſitians murmur'd at the Application of the Plaiſter, and taking the Potion without their Approbation or Knowledge, and ſome of them were forc'd to fly for ſpeaking too plain. The Duke was cenſur'd for his intimacy with one Dr. *Lamb*, whom the Populace thought a Conjurer, but his Vices were more deteſtable than his Art, having been arraign'd for a Witch at *Worceſter*, and at the King's Bench at *Weſtminſter* for a Rape, and this Mountebank, and one *Butler*, an *Iriſh* Quack, were both Retainers to him. The report that the King had foul Play done him, was only whiſper'd up and down at firſt, but the Parliament afterwards made the giving of the Potion, and applying the Plaiſter, one of the 13 Articles exhibited againſt the Duke.

On

On the 27th of *March*, in the Year 1625 King *James* dy'd, and was ſucceeded by his Son *Charles* I. The Duke of *Buckingham* having Politickly ſecur'd an Intereſt in the Heir Apparent, kept ſtill in Place and Favour, and what is rare with Favourites, was even dearer to the Son, than he had been to the Father. He was made Lord High Steward of *England*, for the Ceremony of the late King's Funeral, at which the King was himſelf Chief Mourner, a thing not utual for Princes.

The firſt Buſineſs we find the Duke of *Buckingham* concern'd in for his new Maſter, was a Journey to *Paris*, to fetch over the Princeſs *Henrietta Maria*, Queen of *England*, who was marry'd by Cardinal *Richleiu*, to the Duke *de Chevreuſe*, King *Charles* Proxy, the Duke of *Bucks*, the Earls of *Montgomery*, *Carlile* and *Holland*, were Ambaſſadors Extraordinary on this Occaſion; they made a very Rich and Gallant Figure at the *French* Court. The Royal Bride was receiv'd at *Bulloign*, by the Counteſs of *Buckingham*, and a Beautiful Train of *Engliſh* Ladies; ſhe Embark'd there, and Landed at *Dover*, where the King met her the 12th of *June*, and the 14th the Marriage was Conſummated at *Canterbury*.

The Lord *Clarendon* in his *Hiſtory of the Rebellion* tells us, That during the Duke's Em-

baſſy

baſſy in *France*, he had the Ambition to fix his Thoughts on a Lady of a very ſublime Quality, and perſu'd his Addreſſes ſo far, that after the *French* King who had attended his Siſter on her way for *England*, had left her in the Hands of the Duke to be by him conducted home. He preſum'd once more to Viſit that great Lady, which he thought he might do with the privacy he deſir'd; but his attempt was ſo eaſily diſcover'd, that he had periſh'd had he gone on in it, of which he had only notice enough to ſecure himſelf from the danger, but he ſwore *he wou'd ſee her in ſpite of all the Power of* France; and in hatred to that Nation, he endeavour'd to leſſen the King's Affection to his Queen, and foment a War with *France*, which ended in his Ruin.

A Parliament met the 18th of *June*, they began with complaining of Grievances, and Sir *Edward Coke*, the Famous Lawyer, with others of the *Puritan* Party offended at the Marriage with the Princeſs *Henrietta Maria*, mov'd, *That it ſhou'd be enquir'd whether the Duke did not break the match with* Spain *out of Spleen to* Olivarez, *and whether he made not the match with* France *upon harder Terms.* The Duke made *a handſome and plauſible* Anſwer to both Houſes, and gave them an account of the Fleet; but did not ſay a word of the Vanguard, and ſeven other *Engliſh* Ships, Lent to the *French*

King, which were employ'd againſt *Rochel*, the Bulwark of the Proteſtant Religion in *France*, and which *Buckingham* only of all the King's Council was acquainted with. The Violent Proceedings of this Parliament procur'd them a ſpeedy Diſſolution, ſo early did the Court ſhew how tender they were of Favourites, and how uneaſy at the noiſe of Grievances.

The King, tho' the Parliament was diſſolv'd, continu'd his Reſolution to Proſecute the War againſt the Emperor, and King of *Spain*. To this end *Buckingham* was ſent with the Earl of *Holland* to the *Hague*, and there enter'd into a League with the *Dutch*; and the King in remembrance of Dr. *Williams*, Biſhop of *Lincoln's* promoting the laſt Parliament's Quarrel with the Duke, baniſh'd him from his Preſence, and Council, took the Great Seal from him, and gave it to Sir *Thomas Coventry*. The Lord *Wimbleton* was order'd with a Squadron of Men of War to intercept the *Spaniſh* Plate Fleet at *Cadiz*, and his Miſcarriage was laid to the Duke, who put him into that command. The *Puritans* were diſpleas'd with his protecting Dr. *Mountague*, whom the Parliament wou'd have proceeded with, for writing a Book call'd, *Appello ad Cæſarem, contriv'd to put a Jealouſie, between the King and his Subjects, and to encou-*

rag

rage Popery. *Mountague* was by the Duke's Recommendation prefer'd to be one of his Majesty's Chaplains, and the King at *Buckingham*'s request own'd him as such, which put a stop to their Proceedings, and began to make ill Blood, all the unhappy Differences that follow'd upon it, were chiefly owing to the Encouragement given Dr. *Mountague*, and his Opinions.

When the Treaty with the *Dutch* was finish'd, the Duke return'd to assist as Lord High Constable of *England*, at the Ceremony of the King's Coronation, on the 25th of *December*. From *Holland* he brought over a vast Quantity of *Arabian*, and other Manuscripts in the *Eastern* Languages, which he bought there, and presented them to the University of *Cambridge*, when he was their Chancellor.

The King call'd a new Parliament to meet the 6th of *February*, and Sir *Edward Coke*, with several other Gentlemen, prosecutors of the Duke in the last Session, were prick'd for Sheriffs to prevent their Election in the next. This Parliament came together in as ill a humour as the other; they presently attack'd the Duke for granting a Commission to Sir *James Bag*, to Seize the *Peter* of *Havre de Grace*. For which the *English* Effects in *France* were seiz'd, *Buckingham* said he wou'd justifie it by the King's Order. They also Resolv'd, *That*

the Diminution of the Kingdom in Strength and Honour is an Evil, which we ſuffer under; that the increaſe and countenancing Papiſts, the not guarding the narrow Seas, that Pluralities of places in one Hand, Sales of Honour, and places of Judicature, delivery up of Ships to the French, *Miſemployment of three Subſidies, and three Fifteens were Grievances.* And order'd, *That the Duke on whom theſe Crimes chiefly reflected, ſhou'd have notice of the Intention of the Houſe of Commons ſuddenly to reſume the debate of theſe Things.*

Mr. *Clement Coke*, Son of Sir *Edward Coke*, in his Speech concerning Grievances, ſaid, *'Twas better to dye by a Foreign Enemy, than to ſuffer at Home*; and Dr. *Turner*, a Phyſician, Member of the Houſe of Commons, propounded theſe Queries to them: *Whether the King has not loſt the Regality of the Narrow Seas, ſince the Duke became Admiral. Whether he not going as Admiral in the laſt Fleet, was not the cauſe of the ill Succeſs. Whether the King's Revenues have not been impair'd thro' his Immenſe Liberality. Whether the Duke hath not ingroſs'd all Offices, and preferr'd his Kindred to unfit Places. Whether he hath not made ſale of places of Judicature. Whether Recuſants have not Dependance upon his Mother, and Father in Law.* The King provok'd at the Inſolence of theſe Members, undertook to protect his Favourite,

vourite, he first sent Sir *Richard Weston*, a *Papist*, Chancellour of the Exchequer, with an angry Letter for Supplies; promis'd redress of Grievances *dutifully* presented, and told them: *They should apply themselves to redress Grievances, not to enquire after them*, adding: *I will not allow any of my Servants to be question'd among you; much less, such as are of eminent place, and near unto me. I see you already aim at the Duke, I wonder who hath so alter'd your affection towards him.* Sir *Thomas Wentworth* was zealous in the House of Commons against *George Duke of Buckingham*, and gave his Opinion with *Noy* and *Selden*: *That Common Fame is a good ground of Proceedings for that House.* Another Message was brought by *Weston*, That the King *took notice of Mr.* Coke's *seditious Speech, and Dr.* Turner's *Queries, and wonder'd at the foolish Impudence of any Man, that can think he should be drawn to offer such a sacrifice, as the Duke of* Bucks, *much unworthy the Greatness of a King, and Master of such a Servant. He desires the Justice of the House against the Delinquents, that he be not constrain'd to use his Regal Power and Authority, to right himself against those two Persons.* Dr. *Turner* absented himself pretending Sickness; wrote a Letter to the Speaker, submitted to the Judgment of the House, but wou'd not acknowledge he was in any Fault, giving Instances of Persons Accus'd on common Fame.

Sir *John Elliot* ſpoke boldly and ſharply againſt *Buckingham* and Grievances; and, indeed, ſuch Meſſages by ſuch a Meſſenger, were enough to ſet the Houſe in a Flame had they been in the cooleſt Humour in the World, whereas they were too hot before. His Majeſty order'd the two Houſes to attend him at *Whitehall*; he there Thank'd the Lords, and ſhew'd the Commons their Errors; and the Lord Keeper told them, *The King wou'd not have them proceed farther in the Enquiry touching the Duke.* His Majeſty ſpeaking again mention'd Mr. *Coke*, and ſaid, *'Twas better for a King to be Invaded and almoſt deſtroy'd by a Foreign Power, than to be Deſpis'd by his own Subjects*; bidding them remember, *That the Calling, Sitting and Diſſolving of Parliaments was in his Power.* This Tone was not at all pleaſing to the Commons, who return'd to their Houſe, fell on the Debate of the King's, and the Lord Chancellor's Speeches; Order'd their Doors to be ſhut, and in the Debate miſtaking ſome part of the King's Speech, his Majeſty Commanded the Duke, at a Conference of both Houſes, to Explain it, which he did, and gave them an Account of the *Spaniſh* Buſineſs, of all his Negotiations at Home and Abroad in his own Vindication, aſſuring them he did nothing in ſingle Councels; Excus'd his not going with the Fleet to *Cadiz*, being then, by his Maſter's Order,

in

in *Holland*, Treating an Allyance with the States, and the two *Northern* Crowns. The Lord *Conway* ſpoke much in the Duke's behalf.

The Lords finding the Earl of *Briſtol*, and other of their Members, had their Writs of Parliament ſtop'd, pray'd the King that they might have their Writs, and they had them. The Duke ſhew'd the Lords a Letter from the King to *Briſtol*, Charging him, that when his Majeſty came firſt into *Spain*, *Briſtol* advis'd him to Change his Religion, and that he prejudic'd the Buſineſs of the *Palatinate*. *Briſtol* acquainted the Lords that though he had receiv'd his Writ, the Lord Keeper ſent it with a Letter Miſſive, that he ſhould not come. The Lord Keeper deliver'd a Meſſage to them from his Majeſty, Charging *Briſtol* with Undutifulneſs, Diſreſpect and Scandal to the King; deſires he might be ſent for as a Delinquent to Anſwer for his Offences in *Spain*, and *for ſcandalizing the Duke*. The Commons preſented a Remonſtrance to his Majeſty, *denying the Words to be ſpoken by Mr.* Coke, *Excuſing Dr.* Turner, *and Avowing their Proceedings againſt the Duke, or any other Subject; praying the King not to give Ear to vicious Reports of private Perſons for their own Ends.* They alſo acquainted the Duke, That they were Paſſing of Articles againſt him, to which, if he pleas'd, he might Anſwer. The Duke

informing the Lords of it, they would not permit him. The Earl of *Briſtol*, by the Lords Order, was brought to the Bar, and by the Duke's Procurement, the Attorney General Accus'd him of High Treaſon; to which he Anſwer'd, *That he was a Free Man, and a Peer untainted, and he had ſomewhat to ſay of High Conſequence.* Being bid to proceed, he ſaid. *I accuſe that Man the Duke of* Buckingham *of High Treaſon, and will prove it.* The Articles againſt *Briſtol* were. *Traiterouſly aſſuring King* James, *that the Emperor, and King of* Spain *wou'd reſtore the Palatinate, and that the King of* Spain *would conſent to the Match, which* Briſtol *knew he never intended. That he did not Execute the King's Commands, nor put the King of* Spain *to a punctual Anſwer, to the Detriment of our King, and his Allies. That he perſwaded King* James *not to break with* Spain. *That he ſaid he car'd not what the Treaty wou'd be, but wou'd make his Fortune by it. That he intended to Introduce Popery here, and perſwaded King* James *to Grant a Tolleration of it. That he occaſion'd the Prince's Journey into* Spain, *to his great hazard. That in* Spain *he perſwaded the Prince to Change his Religion. That he advis'd the breeding up the King of* Bohemia's *Son in the* Imperial *Court. That he wou'd have diſpatch'd the Procuration notwithſtanding the Prince's Commands to the contrary, if extraordinary diligence had not*

prevented

prevented it. The Articles which *Briſtol* Exhibited againſt *Buckingham* were. *That he plotted with* Gundomar *to bring the Prince into* Spain *to Change his Religion. That in* Spain *he abſented from Religious Service in* Briſtol's *Houſe, and frequented the Popiſh Service, Ador'd their Sacraments, and Conform'd to their Rites. That he procur'd King* James *to write to the Pope for a Diſpenſation, and to ſtile him* Sanctiſſime Pater! *That the Pope ſent a* Bull *to the Duke, to encourage him in the Perverſion of the Prince. That by his Behaviour in* Spain *he ſo incens'd that King, and his Miniſters, as they wou'd not Treat with him, and that he broke the Match out of his particular Ends and Indignation. That he gave Scandal by his Perſonal behaviour in that Kingdom, and procur'd Favours for unworthy Perſons there for hire of his Luſt. That he hath been the great Cauſe of the Ruin of the* Palatinate. *That he wrong'd* Briſtol *in his Relation to the Parliament in his Honour and Liberty. That* Briſtol *reveal'd theſe Matters to the late King, who ſaid he wou'd hear him againſt the Duke, which the Duke heard, and not long after the King ſicken'd and dy'd. Briſtol* Impeach'd the Lord *Conway*, the Duke's Creature. The King wou'd have the Earl ſent to Priſon, but the Lords wou'd not ſuffer it; however they Order'd the Articles againſt him to be firſt heard, and then his againſt the Duke, with a Saving-Clauſe,

Clauſe, that it ſhou'd not prejudice his Teſtimony againſt *Buckingham*. The Commons ſent up an Impeachment by eight of their Members againſt the Duke of *Bucks*. Sir *Dudley Diggs* open'd it, in a notable introductory Oration, and compar'd *the Commons to the Earth and Sea, the King to the Sun, the Lords to the Planets, the Clergy to the Fire, the Judges to the Air, and the Duke to a blazing Star*, ſhewing himſelf better Read in Aſtronomy than Politicks. Then Mr. *Herbert* enlarg'd on the four firſt Articles. *The Sale of Offices, and Multiplying of Places in his poſſeſſion. His buying the Admiralty Office, and procuring the King to pay for't. The ſame for* Dover, *and the* Cinque Ports, His Governments, *the Neglect of his Duty as Admiral.* Mr. *Selden* aggravated the Guilt of the fifth Article. *The St.* Peter *of* Haverdegrace *taken, and* 20000 l. *in Goods and Jewels deliver'd out of her to a Servant of the Duke's, and never reſtor'd.* He ſhew'd what Prejudice had happen'd *by not Guarding the Seas, and the King's Right therein.* Serjeant *Glanvill* manag'd the 6th. 7th. and 8th. Articles. *His Extorting* 10000 l. *of* Eaſt India *Merchants. His procuring the* Vanguard, *and 6 other Ships, to be put into the* French *King's Service againſt the Conſent of the Owners, and that theſe Ships were employ'd, to his Knowledge, againſt* Rochelle. The 9th. 10th. and 11th. Articles were ma-

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nag'd by Mr. *Pym*, *His Sale of Honours*, *the Ld* Roberts *being threatned if he wou'd not give the Duke* 10000 l. *His Sale of the Treasurers Office for* 20000 l. *to the Lord* Manchester, *and the Office of the Maſter of the Court of* Wards *to Sir* Lioneld Cranfeild *for* 6000 l. *His Procuring Titles for his poor Relations, and Penſions to maintain them.* Mr. *Sherland* enlarg'd on the 12th. Article, *His embezzling the King's Money, and getting Grants to himſelf of Crown Lands, computed to the Value of* 284395 l. Mr. *Wandsford* aggrated the 13th. Article, *The Duke's Giving the Plaiſter and Potion to the late King in his Sickneſs, a tranſcendent Preſumption of a dangerous Conſequence.* All theſe Articles were clos'd with a virulent Speech by Sir *John Elliot*, who, with Sir *Dudley Diggs*, was Committed to the *Tower*; and the King coming to the Houſe of Lords, aſſur'd 'em he wou'd clear *Bucks* of every one of the Matters laid to his Charge. The Commons were very much enrag'd with the Commitment of their two Members, which was the Reaſon of their ſudden Enlargement, and they were Juſtify'd by a Vote of the Houſe. The Univerſity of *Cambridge*, by the King's Recommendation, Choſe the Duke of *Buckingham* their Chancellor in the latter end of the Year 1626. The Commons wou'd have interpos'd in his Election, but his Majeſty forbad them meddling with a Matter which

which belong'd to himſelf. The Earl of *Berkſhire*, the Candidate with *Bucks*, had not Courage enough to try his Intereſt in oppoſition to ſo publick a Favourite, and the King wrote to the Univerſity that he approv'd their Choice.

Buckingham excus'd his oppoſing the Parliaments Recommendation of *Berkſhire* in the Houſe, and gave in his Anſwer to the Commons Impeachment, introducing it with theſe Expreſſions. *His Accuſer Common Fame, was too ſubtle a body for him to conteſt with, and he doubted not, but in time it would be found, that ſhe had abus'd both them and him.* The chief ſtrength of his Anſwer was, *His acting in all things, with the King's Knowledge, and his Father's. Their direction of the particular Paſſages his Obedience thereunto, and following the Advice of the Councel.* He deny'd having 20000 *l.* of the Earl of *Mancheſter*, 6000 *l.* of the Earl of *Middleſex*, or 10000 *l.* of the Eaſt *India* Company, but ſays the King had thoſe Sums, and the Earl of *Mancheſter* had ſatisfaction by the King's Lands, for the 20000 *l.* the 6000 *l.* was given to Sir *Henry Mildmay*, a Gentleman, who was an intimate Friend of the Duke of *Buckinghams*, who came to Court with him, made one at all the Balls and gallant Diverſions. Mr. *Villiers* then invented, to ſhew his Excellence in Dancing, and his fine Behaviour, and as

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he ſhar'd the Duke's Pleaſures, he alſo ſhar'd his good Fortune, King *James* procur'd a Match for him with one Alderman *Hollidays* Daughter, with whom he had 60000 Pound. Yet this very Knight was afterward one of King *Charles*'s Judges, loſt all the Grants given him by the Crown, and was left as naked as King *James* found him, except the two fair Mannors of *Shawford* and *Twyford* in *Hampſhire*, which were his Wives Eſtate, and are now in the Poſſeſſion of his Son Mr. *Mildmay*. Indeed the Duke of *Buckingham* not only advanc'd his Relations, but his Friends had all of 'em Places or Penſions, and whatever he was, as a Councellor and Statesman: He certainly was a good Relation, and a good Friend, Qualities rarely to be met with, in Men of his Fortune. *He abſolutely deny'd, that he apply'd the Plaiſter, or gave the Drink to King* James *in his laſt Sickneſs, but the King knowing the Duke had been cur'd of an Ague by a Plaiſter and a Drink; his Majeſty would have them, and took them, ſome of his Phyſicians being preſent, taſted them, and allow'd them. He concluded his Reply, praying the benefit of the General Pardons of King* James, *and of this King at his Coronation.* The Parliament not ſatisfy'd with his Anſwer, Petition'd the King, to remove the vaſt number of *Papiſts* in Places of Government and Truſt. Profeſt their Affecti-

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on and Loyalty to his Majesty, *But desir'd that he wou'd not permit the Duke to have any more access to him.* The King was as much displeas'd with them, for their Remonstrances and Clamors against his Ministers, as they were with his Favourite, and therefore 'twas resolv'd at Court to dissolve them. Which coming to their Knowledge, *They agreed upon a Remonstrance against the Duke, and concerning the taking of Tunnage and Poundage without being granted to the King by Act of Parliament.* They also Petition'd that his Majesty wou'd not dissolve this Parliament, which Petition the King wou'd not receive, saying, *Their Dissolution was resolv'd on,* and accordingly he directed a Commission for that purpose, which was Executed the 15th of *June*; and thus, *This Great, Warm and Ruffling Parliament*, as *Whitlock* calls them, *broke up.* The Commons dispers'd Copies of their intended Remonstrance, and the King publish'd a Proclamation against it, and for the suppressing it; he also caus'd an Information in the *Star-Chamber* to be prefer'd against the Duke of *Buckingham*, for the same Matters contain'd in the Articles of Impeachment, to which the Duke put in his Answer, and Witnesses were Examin'd, but it came to no Hearing.

The Duke's design by this Mock Trial, was to amuse the People with a form of Justice,

ſtice, which had not the effect intended; for it rather exaſperated, than contented them. The Privy Council, who, we may ſee, were no great Friends either to the King or Kingdom, by the fatal Methods they put his Majeſty upon, adviſ'd him ſtill to take Tunnage and Poundage, and require a Loan of his Subjects. He ſent to *London*, and all the Maritime Towns and Counties in *England*, to furniſh Ships for guarding the Seas. The Deputy-Lieutenants, and Juſtices of *Dorſetſhire* ſaid the Caſe was without Preſident. The City of *London* urg'd the ſame, to whom the Privy Council reply'd, *That the Preſidents in former Times were Obedience, and not Direction.* A Benevolence was alſo extorted from the People, to ſupply the want of a Parliament to grant Money in a legal Way, and a general Loan to come up to the Subſidy, follow'd the Benevolence. Soldiers had free Quarters, Marſhal Law was Executed in profound Peace, and great Outrages committed by the Officers and Soldiers. Sir *Nicholas Hide*, who had drawn the Duke's Anſwer in Parliament, was made chief Juſtice, and Sir *Randal Crew* remov'd, his Crime being, not favouring the Loan. Dr. *Abbot*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, was ſuſpended for his tenderneſs to *Puritans*, and refuſing to Licenſe a Sermon, preach'd to pleaſe the Courtiers by one *Sibthorp*, who deli-

deliver'd for his Opinion, *That the King might make Laws, and do whatſoever pleaſeth him.* *Mainwaring* preach'd the ſame Divinity, *And highly againſt the Power of Parliaments.* For all Ages have produc'd a dangerous ſort of Prieſt-hood, who Sacrifice their Conſciences to hopes of Preferment, and make their God their gain, as there have been found in all Times, ſome truly Religious Divines, whoſe Innocence was never debauch'd by their Intereſt, and who by their Charity, Moderation, and Exemplary Lives, diſcover'd that they were of the true Primitive Church and Spirit; theſe were in the Days we are talking of in Raillery ſtil'd *Puritans*; the Arch-Biſhop, the Biſhops of *Lincoln* and *Carlile* were ſo call'd, and for their Averſion to Popery and Cruelty, Obnoxious to many conſiderable Perſons in Place and Power. The Duke of *Buckingham*, who was no Bigot, was ſometimes of the *Puritan* ſide, and ſometimes of the Faction againſt them. But whatever he might be perſwaded to by his Mother, and her Husband, known Papiſts; he was himſelf very far from running Matters ſo high againſt the *Nonconformiſts*, as Archbiſhop *Laud* and his Party, who were rather for increaſing Ceremonies, than taking any away.

Divi-

Diviſions aroſe in the King's Family, as well as in his Government. The *French* Men and Women, brought over by the Queen, were grown ſo inſolent, that they defy'd Juſtice and ſaid. *The King being a Heretick, had nothing to do with them.* The Queen inſiſted on it as part of her Marriage Articles, that ſhe ſhou'd name all her Servants, and protected the Forreigners too much. His Majeſty was diſpleas'd with them, eſpecially hearing the Queen's Prieſts had made her walk to *Tyburn* on Penance. Which ſo highly provok'd him, that he diſmiſt all her *French* retinue, and their King reſented it as a breach of the Articles of Marriage, and the difference ended in a War.

The Pretence was the aſſiſting the *Rochellers*, The denial of Count *Mansfeild*'s Men to Land in *France*, the influence of the Councels of the Houſe of *Auſtria* upon thoſe of *France*, and the ſeizing of our Merchant Ships there. The King ſent a Fleet to *Rochel*, which was diſpers'd by Streſs of Weather, and forc'd back into the Ports of *England*. The Duke of *Buckingham* to *retrieve* the Honour he loſt in the Exerciſe of his Office of Admiral, reſolv'd to command the next that was preparing. He was made General of the Land Forces put aboard it, 6000 Horſe and Foot in 10

Ships of War, and 90 Merchant Men, which ſet Sail from *Portſmouth* the 27th of *June* 1627. He publiſh'd his Declaration of the King's Affection to the reform'd Churches, and his diſpleaſure at the Miſ-employing of his Ships againſt the *Rochellers*. The deſign was on the Iſle of *Rhe*, contrary to the advice given the Duke to Land his Men at the Iſle of *Oleron*, which was weak and ill provided, whereas *Rhe* was ſtrong and well furniſh'd with all ſorts of Neceſſaries. When the *Engliſh* approach'd the Iſle, the Duke ſent out 12 Ships to guard the entry of *Port Breton*. The reſt ſail'd to the Place where 'twas reſolv'd to Land near the Fort *de la Brie*. The Governor of *Rhe*, Monſieur *Toiras*, detach'd his Brother with 1000 Horſe and Foot to oppoſe the *Engliſh*, who had brought their Guns to bear on the Shoar, and Sir *John Burroughs*, Sir *Edward Conway*, and 1000 Men landed, and forc'd their way, tho' the *French* did all they cou'd to hinder them. The Fight was ſharp and bloody, many brave Officers *Engliſh* and *French* fell in it. The *Engliſh* Army after *Burroughs* had clear'd the way for them, got all Aſhoar, and the Duke march'd to the Cittadel of St. *Martins*, where the Governor *Toiras* was with a ſtrong Garri-ſon. The Duke in this acted contrary to the advice of his moſt experienc'd Officers wh

who wou'd have had him firſt beſieg'd *Mede* Caſtle, a place of leſs defence, than St. *Martins*, and if taken, wou'd ſtreighten *Toiras* the more. He lay before the Caſtle of St. *Martins*, till the Beſiegers were in as ill a Condition as the beſieg'd, ſickneſs and want deſtroy'd the Soldiers alike in the Camp and the Caſtle. The King order'd Supplies to be Ship'd for *Rhe*, and the new rais'd Men diſcourag'd by the bad Succeſs of the Enterprize, ran away from the Service as faſt as they were Liſted. However, the Earl of *Holland* was ready to Sail with Succour for the Duke, when the Governor of St. *Martins*, at the laſt Extremity, inform'd the *French* King of his wants, and a Supply was convey'd to him by a Strategem; *Toiras* pretending to ſurrender, deſir'd time and leave to acquaint his Maſter of his Condition, while this feign'd Treaty was a Foot, Monſieur *Mompaile* by Advantage of the dark Nights, Winter approaching, paſt by the *Engliſh* with 35 Sail of Ships, and a large Supply of Proviſions, Men and Money. The Duke on the News that the Garriſon was reliev'd, held Councel, where 'twas reſolv'd to raiſe the Siege, but Colonel *Dalbier* lately arriv'd from *England* promiſing more ſupplies, and the *Rochellers* in diſtreſs by the *French* King, who was in Perſon before their City, entreating him

to ſtay a little longer, the Duke conſented to it, and the *French* King diſpatch'd over to *Rhe* 4000 Foot, and 200 Horſe, commanded by Mareſchal *Schomberg* to force the *Engliſh* to raiſe the Siege, and Monſieur *Baſſompierre* with 200 Horſe, and 800 of the *French* Life-Guard landed at *Mede* Caſtle. Theſe the Duke attack'd with 500 Foot, and 40 Horſe, and forc'd them to retire to the Caſtle.

Rerutning to his Camp he found the Trenches poſſeſt by another Party of *French*, and theſe the Duke order'd Col. *Stanly* to diſlodge, which he perform'd after a hot diſpute, with conſiderable loſs on both Sides. The Lord *Mountjoy* defeated a *French* Troop of Horſe, but a Party of *Engliſh* venturing too far in the dark, fell into the Enemies Camp, and were cut to pieces. The General perceiving Diſeaſes took off as many of his Men as the War, reſolv'd on another attack of St. *Martins*, before he was too weak for it; which was gallantly begun by the Beſiegers, but meeting with as gallant a defence from the beſieg'd, the Duke drew of his Soldiers, and demoliſh'd his Works in order to be gone. *Schomberg* when he retir'd purſu'd him. The Duke expecting a Battel drew out to fight, which the *French* avoided till they had got the *Engliſh* at a diſadvantage. *Buckingham* then

march'd

march'd forward towards the Sea ſide to embark, and at *Curda* plac'd an Ambuſcade to annoy the *French*, if they follow'd him. The Lanes and Hedges were lin'd with Musketeers, Who forc'd the Vanguard of the Enemy to give ground, till the whole Army came up. And then the *Engliſh* made to their main Body. *Schomberg* ſtill purſu'd them, and overtook 'em at *Anſerine* Cauſway, which was ſo narrow, that they cou'd only march 6 a breaſt, with Ditches and Salt-pits on either ſide. Here the *French* improv'd the advantage, which the overſight of the General had given them, charg'd the *Engliſh*, who haſten'd their march, and the Lord *Mountjoy*'s Troops in the Rear, flying before *Schomberg*'s, put all in diſorder. The *French* eaſily broke in upon them, and gain'd a compleat Victory, killing a great number, throwing 'em into the Saltpits and Ditches. *Cunningham*'s Horſe fought ſtoutly to the laſt Man, the Lord *Mountjoy* was taken Priſoner. The remainder of the *Engliſh* Army gain'd a Bridge at the end of the Cauſeway, made good that paſs, and repuls'd the Enemy. They ſet the Bridge on Fire which ſecur'd their retreat to their Ships. The Duke loſt 2000 men in this action, and the *French* ſcarce 300. Sir *Alexander Bret* and Sir *Charles Rich*, dy'd defending the Bridge to cover the Duke and the few Soldiers that were left in their flight. Sir *John*

Burroughs was kill'd in the Camp before *St Martin's* by a ſhot from the Caſtle. Thus the *Engliſh*, who us'd to bring Glory from *France*, return'd with Shame, and will not ſoon recover the Honour loſt in this unhappy Enterprize. *Buckingham* hoiſted Sail as ſoon as his men were on Board, and met the Earl of *Holland* on the Coaſt of *England*, in his way to the Iſle of *Rhe* coming with ſupplies. The Duke landed in *England* in *October*, and went preſently to Court; where he was receiv'd as favourably, as if he had been Conqueror, all the fault was laid on the delays made by the Earl of *Holland* to aſſiſt him.

The King was never heard to ſpeak the leaſt word of diſcontent to him, only when he wou'd have made the loſs leſs then really it was, His Majeſty told the Duke, Sir *Sackville Crow* had given him another account of the expedition. Which as a famous Author who liv'd then ſays, *had it ſucceeded, wou'd not have rewarded the Charge.* The People were not eaſily ſatisfy'd for the diſgrace the *Engliſh* name lay under by the Dukes miſcarriage at *Rhe*. The Parliaments Remonſtrance ſeem'd juſtify'd by his ill Conduct, and he was generally low in the Love of the Commons. The *Rochellers* diſpatch'd Monſieur *Soubize*, to pray the King not to forſake them, and to acquaint him, that without relief 'twas impoſſible

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for them to maintain themſelves againſt the powerful Army which was brought to Beſiege 'em by Cardinal *Richlieu*, King *Lewis* XIII. being preſent to encourage his Men. *Soubize*'s Embaſſy occaſion'd the calling of a Parliament, and the releaſing the Gentlemen who were Impriſon'd for oppoſing the Loans, Benevolence and Ship Money. The Archbp. the Bp. of *Lincoln*, and other Lords of the *Puritan* Party, had their Writs of Summons, and the 17th of *March* the Parliament met. The King hearing they murmur'd at the Duke for endeavouring to hinder their Seſſion, ſent a meſſage to aſſure them, that he was the firſt mover for it.

The Courtiers thought it their Intereſt to truckle to this Parliament, who in a good humour gave 5 Subſidies, and the Secretary of State inform'd the Houſe, the King was much pleas'd with their Gift, and that the Duke highly extoll'd it. The Houſe took exception, *That the Duke's name was mix'd with the Kings.* This good Underſtanding did not laſt long, a charge was brought into the Houſe by Mr *Pym* againſt Dr *Mainwaring*, *That he by his Divinity, endeavour'd to deſtroy the King and Kingdom.* The Parliament preſented a Petition of Right to the King, to which his Majeſty after a long diſpute gave a ſatisfactory Anſwer; but the Commons ſending up their charge againſt

Mainwaring to the Lords, *For having ſaid in one of his Sermons, That the Subjects under pain of Damnation ought to pay the Loans, and obey the King's Will in all things.* As alſo for their beginning to meddle with the Duke, which they knew the King wou'd not ſuffer. His Majeſty ſent them a meſſage, that he will conclude their Seſſion in a Week, and forbad them to lay any Aſperſions on the Government, or Miniſters of State. We cannot but obſerve, that the Stile of this Miniſtery is the moſt Haughty, Imperious and Irregular of any that we read in former or latter Reigns; and whatever Prince will uſe his free Subjects to ſuch Language, will certainly find that he muſt Reign over them by Fear more than Affection, and ſuch an Empire is as Uncertain as Inglorious. When this Meſſage was heard, Sir *John Elliot* riſing to ſpeak; the Speaker *Finch*, the Queens Attorney General, fearing he intended to fall on the Duke, roſe up and ſaid, *There is a Command upon me, that I muſt Command you not to proceed in this Matter.* Sir *Edward Coke*, who knew the Law to well, to be ſilenc'd in that Houſe, urg'd that the Debate might go on, and nam'd the Duke *as the Cauſe of all their Miſeries. Selden* ſeconded that motion, and *that a Declaration might be drawn, and Judgment demanded againſt* Buckingham *on his Impeachment in the laſt Parliament.*

June

June the 7th. 1628, the Buſineſs was reviv'd, a new Remonſtrance prepar'd, and the Houſe Voted the Duke to be nam'd in it, with two Biſhops Dr. *Neal* and Dr. *Laud.* They Complain in their Remonſtrance, *of the Favour ſhewn to Papiſts, and of thoſe that favour them. Of the ſpreading of* Arminianiſm, *and the publick Practice of Popery in* Ireland. *Of Loans, Billiting Soldiers, Ship-Money. Of the Voyages to* Cales, Rhe, *and the Lord* Denbigh's *late Voyage to* Rochelle, *whence he return'd without attempting to Enter the Port. Of the want of Powder, the Sale of the King's Ammunition, the Loſs of Trade, and the not Guarding the Seas. The Cauſe of all the Evils they conceive to be the exceſſive Power of the Duke of* Bucks, *and his Abuſe of that Power; and they ſubmit to the King's Wiſdom, whether it be ſafe to continue that Power, or the Duke ſo near the King's Perſon.* They deſir'd Acceſs to his Majeſty, and order'd the Speaker to deliver the Remonſtrance. The King gives them to know, that he intended to put an end to their Seſſion, and orders the Bill againſt the Duke in the Star Chamber to be taken off the File, his Majeſty being ſatisfy'd of the Duke's Innocence. *Buckingham* was charg'd in the Houſe for ſuffering Scandal to be talk'd of the Parliament at his Table, and accus'd one *Melvin* for ſaying, *He intended to put the King on a War with the Commons by the* Scots *Aſſiſt-*

ance

ance, and that Sir Thomas Overbury *Poyſon'd the Prince by his Inſtigation.* About this time the Rabble ſet upon Dr *Lamb* in the Streets and beat him to Death, calling him *Witch*, *Devil*, and the *Duke's Conjurer.* The 17th of *June* the Remonſtrance was preſented to the King in the Banqueting Houſe, who ſaid in anſwer, he little expected it from them, after he had ſo Graciouſly paſt the Petition of Right; as for the Grievances he wou'd conſider them as they ſhou'd deſerve. And prorogu'd them to the 20th of *October*.

The relief of *Rochelle* was ſtill reſolv'd on at Court, and the Duke to ingratiate himſelf with the People, undertook it in hopes of better Succeſs than at the Iſle of *Rhe*. The 20th of *Auguſt* the King, the Duke, and the Court went to *Portſmouth*, where the Ships and Men were to rendezvous. The multitude of Perſons of all Qualities, that follow'd the Court and the Favourite, fill'd the Town ſo full, that the King took up his Lodgings at *Southwick* 4 miles off; the Duke, *Soubize* and the Deputies from *Rochelle* were buſy at *Portſmouth*, preparing for their Embarking, and all things were in readineſs; when on the 24th of *Auguſt*, the Duke intending to wait on his Majeſty at Dinner, call'd haſtily for his Breakfaſt, and his Servants running to the *Sewer* to bid him bring in the Meat. The Duke came

came down Stairs from his upper Chamber, to eat in a lower Parlour, turning in at the foot of the Stairs in a narrow Entry, Sir *Thomas Fryer* one of his Collonels ſtooping there to bow, and take his leave of him. The Duke did the ſame, and imbracing him, cry'd, *Honeſt Tom*, and then was turning to enter the Room, when one *John Felton* who watch'd for ſuch an opportunity, ſtabb'd him to the Heart with a back Blow of a *Coutel* Knife, which ſtuck in his Body till the Duke pull'd it out, and then immediately fell down Dead, having only time to ſay the *Villain has ſlain me*. *Soubize* was next to him, and for ſome differences between them, ſuſpected to be the Perſon who ſtabb'd him, on which *Felton* ſtep'd forth, and told the Gentlemen and Servants, whom the Accident had got together, *I am he that did it, let no Innocent Man ſuffer for it*. Upon which he was Apprehended and Impriſon'd, not offering to eſcape. The King was at Prayers when the News was brought him by Sir *Thomas Hipſley*, and it did not hinder his Devotion. He ſent Dr *Hutchinſon*, one of his Chaplains in Ordinary, to try if he cou'd learn of *Felton*, what or who induc'd him to the Bloody Deed. He only anſwer'd, that the Duke had been declar'd an Enemy to the Commonwealth in the late Remonſtrance, and he thought he ſhou'd by killing him, do his Country good Service. *Felton* was deſcended

cended of an Ancient Family in *Suffolk*, had been a Lieutenant in Sir *John Ramsey*'s Regiment, and was solliciting for a Company to serve in the intended Expedition, and tho' he fail'd in it he cou'd not accuse the Duke for opposing him, having been always well receiv'd by him. The Earl of *Clarendon* indeed says, *Felton* bore a Personal grutch to the Duke, for refusing him a Company, which fell to him in Succession, his Captain having been kill'd at the Isle of *Rhe*. He was brought to *London*, and abundance of People went to see him, *he said he was sorry for the fact, and was induc'd to it by the Parliaments Remonstrance.* The same he confest to the Council, and deny'd that the Puritans or any other Persons set him on, or knew of his purpose. Bp. *Laud* threatn'd if he wou'd not confess he shou'd be *Rack'd*. But the King's Council urg'd it cou'd not be done by Law. *Felton* was Try'd, Condemn'd and Hang'd, and his Body sent to *Portsmouth* to be hung in Chains. The People abhorr'd the manner of the Duke's Death, but were not very sorry for it.

The Noble Author above-mention'd, gives a long account of an Apparition which appear'd a few days before his Assassination to an old Servant of the Duke and his Father Sir *George Villiers*. It took the shape of the Dukes Father, and gave him a Message to carry to his Son with a circumstance, which the Duke swore when he heard it, *no Body cou'd*

cou'd come to the Knowledge of but by the Devil. What the Meſſage was the Lord *Clarendon* either did not know or has not thought fit to tell us. The Duke with all his Faults was Generous and good Natur'd, and tho' he dy'd in his ſix and thirtieth year, had in many Actions diſcover'd an Extraordinary Capacity, for the Poſt he was in, and reconcil'd Buſineſs and Pleaſure the beſt of any Man.

He left one Son *George* Duke of *Buckingham*, who was ſo extravagant, that he conſum'd the vaſt Eſtate his Father had acquir'd, which was reputed to be the greateſt in *England*, and dy'd in the year 1687. in Want and Miſery; leaving nothing behind him, but the Fame of his Wit and Extravagance.

THE

THE LIFE OF THE Marqueſs of *Montroſe.*

PART I.

James Graham, Marqueſs of *Montroſe*, Earl of *Kinkardin*, &c. was deſcended of the Royal Family in *Scotland*. His Father, the Earl of *Montroſe*, enjoy'd ſeveral honourable Offices in that Kingdom, and was very proud of this his Eldeſt Son, in whom was early diſcover'd an extraordinary Spirit of Gallantry and Generoſity. To encourage his forward Youth in the purſuit

purſuit of Glory, to poliſh his Manners, and perfect him in the Languages; he was ſent to the Court of *France*, and *Lewis* the XIIIth gave him a command in his *Scots* Guards, before he was twenty Years of Age.

When the young Earl of *Montroſe* return'd to *Scotland*, which was not long after the honour the *French* King had done him, he found the Marqueſs of *Hamilton* at the Head of the *Scottiſh* Affairs, powerful by his Intereſt at Home, and his Favour at Court. And being ambitious of Raiſing himſelf to the Honours he might pretend to by his Birth, he was advis'd by his Friends to apply to the Lord *Hamilton*, to introduce and recommend him to the King. Accordingly he came to Court, and made his Addreſſes to the Marqueſs, who outwardly receiv'd him very civily, but perceiving that he was of a bold puſhing Temper, and apprehending his good Qualities might render him a dangerous Competitor in the King's good Graces, he endeavour'd to make him out of Love with the Court, and to ſet him againſt the King, by inſinuating, that his Majeſty did not mean well to the Kingdom of *Scotland*, that he intended to make it a Province of *England*; and that he only waited for a time and opportunity to ſhew his Reſentment of his Country's Wrongs. As he ſtrove to put the

Earl

Earl of *Montroſe* out of Humour with the King, ſo he did the Earl ill Services to his Majeſty, inſinuating that the pretences of his deſcent made him dangerous, and 'twas more prudent to neglect than to Countenance his Ambition. The King at that time did not look on his *Scots* Subjects, but with the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*'s Eyes, and entirely govern'd himſelf by his advice in all Things, relating to his Native Kingdom.

The Earl was not ſatisfy'd with *Hamilton*'s Carriage, and did not care to leave the Court, till he had ſeen the King. He preſt it upon the Marqueſs ſo far that he cou'd not deny him; however, he had ſo prepoſſeſt his Maſter to the Earl's Prejudice, that 'twas rather a Diſ-ſervice, than an act of Friendſhip. For when *Montroſe* kiſt the King's Hand. His Majeſty negligently turn'd his Head ſide way, as if he took no notice of him, and gave him his Hand as a Complement of Courſe; and this Uſage had the effect, the Marquiſs deſign'd. The Earl in diſcontent, poſted to *Scotland*, and reſenting the Lord *Hamilton*'s reception of him, ever after oppos'd him in all Things, and when the King ſent the Marquiſs his high Commiſſioner to *Scotland*, *Montroſe* out of pure Malice to him, ſided with the Covenanters, who were charm'd with the vigor of his Councels, and the fury of

of his Zeal, which at the bottom was thought to be *Pique and Revenge.*

And indeed, if we will Examine in our own Times, the Proceedings of ſome famous *Patriots*, as they call'd themſelves, who have with moſt Malice and Induſtry oppos'd the Court, we ſhall find they were either Perſons turn'd out of Places, or ſuch as never cou'd get into them. Men that were angry with their Sovereign, for taking away their Offices, and with the Miniſters for accepting them. For in the Reign of good Princes, ſuch as King *Charles* the Iſt. and ſuch as the Princes, who have govern'd the three Kingdoms for the laſt ſixteen Years, there cou'd be no juſt Occaſion for Offence, and the diſaffected muſt be ſowr'd by their Spleen and Avarice.

While the Kirk Party pretended *Preſervation of Religion, the Honour and Dignity of the King, and the good of the People*, there was colour enough to invite the Malecontents to hide their Reſentment, under the Notion of engaging on the ſide of Religion and Liberty. The Kirk thought they were ſo ſure of *Montroſe*, that they ſpoke out plainly to him, and confeſt they deſign'd to take up Arms, and ſecure their Civil and Religious Rights by force. In the Year 1639. 'twas reſolv'd at a Convention of the chiefs of the Party at *Dundee* to invade *England*, and they all took the ſolemn League and

Covenant. The Earl of *Montroſe* was abſent about ſome private Affairs, but he conſented to their Reſolutions, and was very Zealous in Raiſing Forces to join the *Scots* Army; he took all their *Oaths and Atteſtations*, and his Integrity was not in the leaſt ſuſpected. His Intereſt lying moſt in the North, himſelf and the Lord *Marſhal* went thither to obſerve the Marquiſs of *Huntley*, who was a Loyal Man, and ready to riſe for the King, which *Montroſe* prevented by ſecuring his Perſon; an important Piece of Service to the Covenanters *Huntley*, having a large Clan and Country, at his beck in the North of *Scotland*. The Earl join'd the Covenanters Army with 2000 Foot, and 500 Horſe, and beſides this Strength, there were 5000 Men more which came into them, under the command of his Friends, whom he had engag'd in the *Cauſe*. He was not only the moſt conſiderable Officer next the Generals in the Army, but the moſt Zealous Counceller in all their Deliberations; he ſign'd the Letter which the Kirk Lords wrote to the *French* King for his Aſſiſtance; when the Army approach'd the *Tweed*, *Montroſe* at the Head of his own Regiment of 500 Horſe, was the firſt Man that paſt the River on the *Scots* firſt Expedition into *England*. But as Dr. *Welwood* ſays, in his Memoirs, *Being afterwards diſoblidg'd, or* as

ſome

ſome ſay, *Repenting of his former Error he left that ſide, and came into the King at the breaking out of the War, between him and the Parliament*; others affirm, that his firſt diſtaſt was ſoon after the Pacification, when he ſaw the Kirk made no better uſe of the Peace than to gain time, and encreaſe their Strength to ſet up a Government independant of the King. The Earl wou'd not have Things driven ſo far, and as Sir *Roger Manly* obſerves, *When he perceiv'd that his Countrymen deſign'd not only the King's Ruin, but that of Monarchy too, he reſolv'd to quit them*; however, he cou'd not preſently ſhew his Converſion publickly, the *Scots* were generally for the Covenant, and they wou'd have treated him as an Apoſtate and perjur'd Man, if he had deſerted them openly, till he had ſome Authority and Strength to defend him; he therefore counterfeited a Zeal for the Covenant, that the Kirk might have no Jealouſie of him, he took Arms with them in their ſecond Expedition into *England*. And advanc'd with his Regiment as far as *New-Caſtle*, from whence he found means to write a Letter to his Majeſty at *York* to *teſtifie his Obedience*, which Letters were ſtolen out of the King's Pockets by ſome of the Bed-Chamber; and Copies of 'em ſent to General *Leſly*, and the Covenanters. *Leſly* commanded the Earl to attend him, and told

him, he correſponded with their Enemies, and *that he had known the Heads of Princes chopt off for leſs Matters.* *Montroſe* requir'd an inſtance of his Correſpondence, on which *Leſly* produc'd a Copy of his Letter to the King, the Earl boldly anſwer'd, *He did not underſtand that writing to the King, was to hold Intelligence with an Enemy, but rather what became the Duty of a Loyal Subject to his Sovereign.* Which anſwer ſo amus'd the General, that he did not think fit to proſecute the Buſineſs farther, fearing a Diviſion in the Army, *Montroſe* being very well belov'd by the Soldiers for his Valour and Generoſity, far exceeding his Ability.

After the Peace of *Rippon*, and the diſbanding the *Scots* Army, the Earl kept a conſtant Correſpondence with the Court, of which the Kirk Party got Intelligence. The Marquiſs of *Hamilton* is accus'd as Acceſſary to the Stealing the King's Letters out of his Pocket at *York*, and Mr. *Murray* of the Bed-Chamber, a Creature of *Hamilton*'s, is cenſur'd for betraying *Montroſe*'s correſponding with the Court to the Covenanters. They got Intelligence from this *Murray*, or ſome Body elſe near the King's Perſon, that his Majeſty had written to *Montroſe*, and that the Letters were quilted in the Meſſenger's Saddle, one *Stuart*, Servant to the Earl of *Traquair*; Him they

they ſeiz'd on the Borders, and pretended they had diſcover'd a horrid Conſpiracy carry'd on by the Earl, and the Courtiers to ſubvert their Religion and Laws. For which *Montroſe*, the Laird of *Marcheſton*, and Sir *Sterling Ker*, were apprehended and impriſon'd in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* in the Year 1641.

The King held a Parliament not long after in that City, and was himſelf preſent at their Seſſion; he granted all they cou'd deſire, he made General *Leſly* Earl of *Leven*, he careſt the Marquiſs of *Argyle*, and the chief Covenanters, yet they were ſo inveterate againſt *Montroſe*, that he cou'd not prevail with them to diſcharge him, while his Majeſty continu'd among them. They were Jealous, that the Earl might inform the King of more than they were willing he ſhou'd know of their Confederacy with the Malecontents in *England*, and have convinc'd him of their Falſhood and Diſſimulation, and that they wou'd never be brought to Reaſon till they were forc'd to it, which was the advice *Montroſe* gave the King.

After his Majeſty was gone, the Earl and his Friends were ſet at Liberty. *Montroſe* retir'd to his own Houſe, and there he ſtaid till the Queen landed at *Burlington* in *Yorkſhire* from *Holland*. The Troubles

breaking out the next Year in *England*, the *Scots* Covenanters openly favour'd the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, and try'd all the Artifices they cou'd invent, to bring over the Earl to their ſide. But he knew them, and was not to be deceiv'd by them; however, he temporiz'd a little till he heard her Majeſty was at *Burlington*; thither he and the Lord *Ogilby* march'd with two Troops of Horſe. He declar'd to her freely, that the *Scots* wou'd certainly join with the *Engliſh* Parliament, and that there was no way to prevent it without taking Arms, and making a Diverſion in *Scotland*. The Marquiſs of *Hamilton* oppos'd his Councels, as neither Prudent nor Feaſible, and repreſented the *Scots* to be entirely in his Majeſty's Intereſt.

We deſire the Reader to obſerve, that tho' this account may not exactly agree with the Character of the Duke of *Hamilton* in his Life; yet, having now occaſion to look into Authors, who write more in *Montroſe*'s Favour, we cou'd not juſtly refuſe to ſtate the Caſe as they leave it, and refer it to the Impartial to judge as they pleaſe in the matter.

Moſt of the *Scots* Nobility were of *Hamilton*'s Faction and Opinion, and *Montroſe*'s Methods being rejected, he went Home contenting himſelf, that he had done his

his Duty, and reſolving to do all that lay in his Power to prevent the *Scots* joining with the *Engliſh* in a War againſt the King. A Convention was held at *Edinburgh* in 1643. ſummon'd without the King's Authority, and by a Majority of 70 Voices, they voted to raiſe 20000 Men to aſſiſt their Brethren in *England*. The Earl of *Montroſe* and his Friends refus'd to appear at this Seſſion, and the Kirk order'd their Renown'd Doctor *Alexander Henderſon* to confer with him, and endeavour to work him again over to their Party by his ghoſtly advice. The Earl, the Lord *Ogilby*, *Marcheſton* and *Ker* gave *Henderſon* a Meeting, got as much out of him as they cou'd, and then *Montroſe* acquainted all his Friends with the Deſigns of the Covenanters to animate them to take Arms for the King, and keep the *Scots* Army employ'd at Home. The Royaliſts ſeeing there was no likelihood, that they cou'd prevent the Armies marching into *England*, ſtood ſtill, and wou'd not concern themſelves one way or other. The Earl nothing diſcourag'd at their Backwardneſs, poſted to *England*, taking the Lord *Ogilby* with him, to inform his Majeſty of the State of Affairs in *Scotland*.

They arriv'd at *Oxford*, while the King was at the Siege of *Glouceſter*, and thither they follow'd him, and gave him Informa-

tion of the Covenanters Preparation to march into *England*, which the Earl of *Lanerick*, the Earl of *Traquair*, and others, had flatter'd his Majesty they wou'd not do. The King at his return to *Oxford* found *Montrose*'s Relation to be truest. The *Scots* had enter'd *England*, and all Things happening out just as the Earl had advis'd him. His Majesty began to hearken to his Judgment, and govern himself by it.

While *Montrose* was at *Oxford*, the Duke of *Hamilton*, and the Earl of *Lanerick* came to Court. And *Montrose* was the Person that was suppos'd to have perswaded the King, that they had both betray'd his Cause in *Scotland*, and at the same time, that they affected great Zeal for his Service, were favourers of the Covenant. The two Brothers on his Accusation were confin'd, and Articles of a high Misdemeanor exhibited against *Hamilton*, who complain'd that they were the effect of his Enemy, the Earl of *Montrose*'s Malice, and recriminated on him, that through Rashness and Rigour he had exasperated the Kirk to take those unhappy Measures, which so much embroil'd his Majesty's Affairs. That his Poverty put him upon desperate Councels in hopes to mend his Fortune, by the Distractions of his Country. If any one has the Curiosity to know more of the Duke's Reflections on *Montrose* on this account, we refer

refer him to the Biſhop of *Salisbury*'s *Memoirs* of the Dukes of *Hamilton*, and to the Duke's Life, which we have written.

After the Diſgrace and Impriſonment of theſe two Lords, the Court ſaw there was nothing to be done in *Scotland* by Moderation, for the *Hamilton*'s being the Head of the moderate Party, moſt of them fell in with the Kirk, or were Neuters. The King had now no Body to employ, whom he cou'd confide in, but the Earl of *Montroſe*, to him he conſign'd the care of that Kingdom with the Title of Governor-General, and with this Commiſſion, he gave him a Patent to be a Marqueſs. *Montroſe* was well pleas'd to ſee that he ſhou'd have a Trial of ſtrength with his Adverſaries in the Field. He was an utter Enemy of all healing Methods, and the Sword he thought was the beſt Medicine that cou'd be apply'd in this Diſeaſe of the State.

The Earl of *Antrim* engag'd to Land Forces out of *Ireland*, Sir *John Cockram* was diſpatch'd to *Denmark* to Negotiate with that King for Horſe and Arms, which came to nothing. The Marqueſs of *New-Caſtle*, who commanded for the King in the North of *England*, was order'd to furniſh *Montroſe* with a ſtrong Party of Horſe, and enable him to enter the South of *Scotland*. *Montroſe* advis'd the King to oblige all the *Scots* in

in his Court to Sign an abhorrence of the Proceedings of the Covenanters, moſt of the Lords of that Nation, who were in *England* ſign'd it. The Earl of *Traquair*, and Mr. *Murray* of the Bed-Chamber ſtood out, yet they promis'd to aſſiſt the Marqueſs of *Montroſe* to their utmoſt.

The 1ſt of *April* 1644. was the Day prefix'd in the Conſultations at *Oxford*, for the Earl of *Antrim* to meet *Montroſe* in *Argile*, and the Marqueſs did not doubt, but with the Forces he expected to receive from the Lord *New-Caſtle*, he ſhou'd be in a Capacity to make his way into that Shire to join the Lord *Antrim*, and the *Iriſh* Forces. Having taken large Inſtructions from the King, how to carry himſelf in ſo high and intricate an Office, he took his leave of his Majeſty, and went from *Oxford* into the North to procure Aſſiſtance from the Marqueſs of *New-Caſtle*. The latter excus'd ſupplying him notwithſtanding the King's Orders, pretending he was himſelf in want of Supplies to oppoſe the *Scots* Covenanters, who were quarter'd within five Miles of him, with much ado he ſpar'd him 200 Horſe, and two Field Pieces, and commanded all his Majeſty's Officers to aſſiſt him in his Journey to *Scotland*. The Gentlemen of *Cumberland* and *Weſtmoreland* rais'd 800 Foot, and three Troops of Horſe, and he got together 200 more himſelf. With theſe

theſe he march'd into *Scotland* the 13th of *April*, and ſeiz'd *Dumfrice* in Expectation of *Antrim*'s landing from *Ireland*. The latter diſappointing him, he retir'd again into *England*, on News that the Earl of *Calander* had rais'd another Army for the Kirk, to ſecond General *Leſly*, then before *York*. *Montroſe* took a Fort at the Mouth of the *Tine*, beat the Gariſon out of *Morpeth*, and plunder'd the Caſtle. He ſent the Lord *Ogilby*, and Sir *William Rollock* diſguis'd into *Scotland*, to ſee what might be expected from their Friends in the Heart of the Kingdom, who brought back very bad News, that all the ſtrong holds were in the Hands of the Covenanters, and the People in no diſpoſition to riſe for the King. That the Earl of *Traquair*, whom the King had truſted more than any Man of the Kingdom, except the Duke of *Hamilton*, and his Brother, the Earl of *Lanerick*, had deſerted his Service, and was an Agent for the Kirk. Such was the Melancholly poſture of Affairs, when he a ſecond time enter'd *Scotland*, himſelf diſguis'd like a Groom, with only two Gentlemen in his Company, *Rollock* and *Sibbald*, and had like to have been taken by Sir *Richard Graham*, formerly a Servant of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s. He arriv'd in ſafety at a Kinſman of his, *Patrick Graham* of the *Sherifdom* of *Perth*, where he remain'd *Incognito*, at his Houſe

on

on the Banks of the *Tay*, till he had notice that 1100 *Iriſh* were landed in the North of *Scotland*, inſtead of 10000 which the Earl of *Antrim* had promis'd, they were commanded by *Alexander Macdonald*, a *Scotchman*, and the Marqueſs and *Graham* habited like *Highlanders*, met him in *Athol*. The Lord *Argyle* follow'd *Macdonald* with an Army of Covenanters, and the Marqueſs of *Montroſe* with what forces he cou'd raiſe, ſcarce 1500 Men in all march'd to *Ern*, where he deſtroy'd *Weme* Caſtle, the Seat of the *Meneſes*, who had fallen on his Rear. He burnt their Houſes, and waſted their Fields, which was his firſt Act of Hoſtility. The Lord *Kilpont*, Son to the Earl of *Taith*, and Sir *John Drummond*, the Earl of *Perth*'s Son, came over to him with 500 Men from the Covenanters, who were at their Rendezvous at *Perth* to oppoſe the *Iriſh* as common Enemies. With the Addition of theſe Troops, the Marqueſs thought himſelf ſtrong enough to fight the Covenanters, tho' they were three Men to his one; he advanc'd towards them on the 1ſt of *September*. The Covenanters were commanded by the Lord *Elcho*, and receiving a Summons from *Montroſe* to ſurrender themſelves to him, as the King's Lieutenant, on promiſe of Pardon; they ſent the Meſſenger Priſoner to *Perth*, and attack'd the Marqueſs's Army, who at the Onſet forc'd the

the Enemy to fly, and afterwards put them to flight, perſu'd them ſix Miles, kill'd two Thouſand, and took as many Priſoners. Whom the Marqueſs requir'd to ſwear Allegiance to the King, which they did but broke their Oaths, on the firſt opportunity. He made himſelf Maſter of the City of *Perth*, and ſtaid there three Days. Here the Earl of *Kinoul*, and ſome Gentlemen of *Gaury* came into him; from *Perth* he paſt the *Tay*, march'd into *Angus*, and encampt at *Comper*, where Sir *Thomas Ogilby*, Son to the Earl of *Arley*, with other Perſons of Quality join'd him. While he lay here, a Follower of the Lord *Kilpont*'s diſcover'd to him, that he deſign'd to Murder *Montroſe*, and tempted him to aſſiſt him in it, in hopes of Preferment from the Covenanters. *Kilpont* abhorring ſuch a Villanous attempt, checkt the Fellow for propoſing it to him, and the Aſſaſſin ſtab'd *Kilpont*, and eſcap'd to the Earl of *Argyle*, who with a great Army obſerv'd the Marqueſs of *Montroſe*. The Marqueſs ſummon'd *Dundee*, and the Citizens ſcorning his Summons, he mov'd towards *Eske*, being in no Condition to form a Siege. Hearing the Lord *Burgly* with 2000 Foot, and 500 Horſe waited at *Aberdeen* for the Earl of *Argyle*'s coming up with the main Body of the Covenanters Army: He reſolv'd to march thither, and prevent their Junction. The Lord

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Kilpont's Men had left him, to attend upon their Maſter's Corpſe, which they carry'd home to be bury'd, and the Men of *Athol* were gone off loaden with Plunder. He had but 1500 Foot, and 40 Horſe, yet he fell on the Covenanters, and after a diſpute of four Hours routed them, and follow'd them into *Aberdeen*, where he reſted two Days, upon News that the Earls of *Argile* and *Lothian* with 1500 Horſe were approaching nearer *Aberdeen*. *Montroſe* remov'd to *Kintore*, twelve Miles off. From whence he ſent Sir *William Rollock* to *England* to give the King an account of his Succeſſes, and to pray Aſſiſtance againſt his Potent Enemies, whoſe Power encreaſing daily, the Marqueſs cou'd not keep the *Lowlands* any longer, ſo he was forc'd to fly to the Mountains, where the Enemies Horſe cou'd not come. But finding 5000 Covenanters ready to diſpute the Paſs of the River *Spey* with him, He march'd back into *Athol*, and detach'd *Macdonald* with a Party, either to bring over the *Highlanders* by fair Means, or to fight them. Himſelf, tho' he was Sick, and had been ſo for ſome Days, croſt the *Grainsbane*, a ridge of Hills that parts the Eaſt and Weſt of *Scotland*, got into the North, and arriv'd at *Strathboggy* in hopes to draw the Clan of the *Gourdons* to his Intereſt. The Marqueſs of *Huntley* Head of the Clan, hinder'd

der'd the *Gourdons* aſſiſting him out of envy to *Montroſe*. In *October* he poſſeſt himſelf of *Favy* Caſtle, which he wanted for a place of Arms, and to lodge the Booty which his Men daily brought into his Camp. The Earls of *Argyle* and *Lothian* follow'd the Marqueſs with 2500 Foot, and 1200 Horſe. *Montroſe*, who had no more than 1500 Foot, and 50 Horſe drew his Men up to a Hilly rough Ground, fortify'd with Hedges and Ditches as good as a Breaſtwork. Here thoſe of the *Gourdons* that had liſted under him, deſerted him, and *Lothian* with five Troops of Horſe mounted the Hill, whom *Montroſe* charg'd, and drove 'em back to their Foot. *Argyle* perceiving his Men were diſcourag'd with their ill Succeſs, retreated the ſame way that he came, and *Montroſe* return'd to *Strathboggy*. The Covenanters having notice that he was come down from the Poſt where they had attack'd him, detach'd a ſtrong Party of Horſe to fall on his Rear. *Argyle* came after them, and the two Generals conſented to a Ceſſation of Arms to prevent the effuſion of Blood by a Treaty. The Covenanters deſir'd a Parley with *Montroſe*'s Men to debauch them, and accordingly *Sibbald* an old Friend and Companion af the Marqueſs, ſtole away to *Argyle*. *Montroſe* fearing more of his Soldiers wou'd do the ſame, re-

reſolv'd to break up at Midnight, and be gone. To amuſe the Covenanters, his Carriages which were ſent before were order'd to return, and he gave out that he intended to ſtay, and give Battel; by ſo doing, the Enemy was deceiv'd in the Information brought 'em by Spies and Deſerters, and the Marqueſs march'd off his Army to *Balveny*, where other Perſons of Quality deſerted him. He was told a few Days after that *Argyle*'s Horſe were ſeparated from his Foot, which lay at *Dunkeldon* in *Athol*. On this *Montroſe* return'd to *Badenoth*, and from thence marching all Night 16 Miles, through Pathleſs, deſert Ways, cover'd with Snow, and never Inhabited by humane Creature; he heard that *Argyle*, who was eight Miles off having Knowledge of his approach by his Scouts, broke up, his Soldiers diſperſt, and himſelf retir'd into *Perth*, a ſtrong Garriſon, which it ſeems the Covenanters had retaken and fortify'd.

Patrick Graham from the Lord *Kilpont*'s Funeral, and *Mackdonal* with 500 *Mack Renalds* returning to his Camp, he march'd to the great Lake, the head of the River *Tay*, and ſo through *Bradalbain* into *Argyle*. Knowing that an Enemy cou'd be no where ſo Advantageouſly attack'd as in his own Territories. He flew croſs the Country,

try, and ſurpriz'd the Marqueſs as he was liſting Soldiers in great Security at *Innerare*, ſuppoſing he had no Enemy within an 100 Miles of him. But hearing from the trembling Cowherds, that *Montroſe* was ſcarce two Miles off; he ſav'd himſelf in a Boat, or, as the Marqueſs wrote to the King, he had given a *good account of him*. *Montroſe* deſtroy'd and fill'd the Country with Blood, Rapine and Fire, and liv'd at Diſcretion on *Argyle*'s Vaſſals, from the 13th of *December* to the laſt of *January*. From *Argyleſhire* he march'd through *Lorn*, *Glencow* and *Aber*, committing the ſame terrible waſt and ſlaughter, and we muſt own he was the moſt ſevere Conqueror, that theſe three Kingdoms have produc'd for many Ages; hearing *Argyle* had got together a conſiderable Army, made up chiefly of his own *Clan* near *Innerlochy*, where he expected the Earl of *Seaforth*, and the *Sept* of the *Frazers* conſiſting with the Forces of *Murray*, *Roſs*, and other Counties of 5000 Men, the Marqueſs came to *Lochneſs*, intending to fall on *Argyle* before *Seaforth*, and the *Frazers* cou'd join him. His march was thro' inacceſſible Mountains, where he cou'd have no Guides but Cowherds, and they ſcarce acquainted with a Place ſix Miles from their Homes; however as he ſays himſelf, *He was willing to let the World ſee* Argyle *was not the Man,*

his Highland *Men believ'd him to be.* On the 1ſt of *February* his Van came in view of the Enemy, about five a Clock in the Afternoon, and halted till the Rear got up, which was not till eight at Night, *Argyle*'s Men took the Alarm, and ſtood to their Arms all Night, the ſame did the Royaliſts. At break of Day, the Marqueſs of *Montroſe* order'd his Men to charge the Enemy, and a little after Sun Riſing both Armies met, and fought with great Bravery. The chief of the *Campbels* gave the onſet; the Royaliſts after their firſt firing, came immediately to puſh of Pike, and dint of Sword, *Argyle*'s Men cou'd not withſtand their Fury, they made a ſlight Reſiſtance, and fled, *Montroſe* perſu'd them nine Miles, kill'd 1500 of them at leaſt, with the loſs of four Men only, among whom was Sir *Thomas Ogilby*, the Earl of *Arly*'s Son, a very brave young Gentleman. *Argyle* himſelf got into a Boat, put off from Shoar, and ſaw the Ruin of his Men at a diſtance. *Montroſe* ſent Mr. *Hay* with a Letter to the King, dated the 3d of *February* 164⅘. from *Innerlochy*, which is in the Appendix of *Welwood*'s Memoirs, and in his Letter he Expreſſes to the King, *His utter averſion to all Treaties with his* Rebel Parliament *in* England, and all good *Engliſhmen* have juſt Reaſon to mourn over this Victory, and the fatal Conſequence of it,

for

for the News came to the King the Night before he was to diſpach away the Commiſſioners from *Oxford* to *Uxbridge*, with full Power to conclude the Treaty that was then on Foot, between him and the Parliament. His Majeſty had been perſwaded to give his Conſent to ſome of the moſt material Propoſitions, that were ſent to him to ſettle a laſting Peace with his People, and next Morning was appointed for ſigning a Warrant to his Commiſſioners to that effect. In the mean time Mr. *Hay* brings this Letter from the Marqueſs of *Montroſe*, who in the cloſe of it ſays, *He is heartily ſorry to hear his Majeſty had conſented to Treat, and hopes it is not true.* He adviſes him, *Not to enter into Terms with his* Rebellious *Subjects, as being a thing unworthy of a King*; and aſſures him, that he himſelf was now ſo much Maſter of *Scotland*, *That he doubted not but to be able within a few Months to march into* England, *to his Majeſty's Aſſiſtance with a brave Army.* He concludes all with this odd Expreſſion, *When I have conquer'd from* Dan *to* Beerſheba, *as I doubt not I ſhall very quickly, I hope I may have then leave to ſay as* David's *General ſaid to his Maſter, Come thou, leſt this Country be call'd by my Name.* The Letters containing theſe aſſurances from a Perſon, that was thought capable to make good his Promiſes, was unluckily deliver'd to the King a few hours

before he was to have ſign'd the Warrant, we have mention'd, and ſays the Author of the above cited Memoirs, *Had as ill effects as the worſt of King* Charles's *Enemies cou'd have wiſh'd.* It daſh'd in a moment all the Projects of Peace, and what was the end of the War we cannot remember without Horror.

Montroſe refreſh'd his Army five or ſix Days, and returning over *Lough Aber* Hills, he arriv'd at *Loughneſs*, paſt the River *Spey*, and took *Elgin.* At which time the Lord *Gourdon*, ſecond Son to the Marqueſs of *Huntley*, left his Uncle *Argyle*, and came over to *Montroſe* with a ſelect Squadron of his Friends and Dependants, with this Addition his Army was encreas'd to 2000 Foot, and 200 Horſe paſt the *Dee*, and encampt near *Fettercarne.* Here Sir *John Hurrey*, General of the Covenanters, came with 600 Horſe to take a view of *Montroſe*'s Camp. The Marqueſs advanc'd to fight him with 200 Horſe, well lin'd with Musketeers. *Hurrey*'s Men charg'd *Montroſe*'s, but perceiving the Foot, they retreated and fled 24 Miles to *Dundee.* The Marqueſs perſu'd them as far, and then march'd to *Fettercarne*, from thence he croſt the *Grainſhane*, advanc'd to the *Tay*, and intended for the *Forth.* The Covenanters to prevent him, met him, General *Bayly* lately came out of *England*, had join'd *Hurrey*, yet

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Montroſe offer'd to fight them. *Bayly* anſwer'd, *When he was diſpos'd to engage, it ſhou'd be by his own, not anothers Choice.* He cou'd not force the Enemy to a Battle, for the River *Ile* parted his Army and theirs; ſo he march'd forward to *Dunkildon*, and deſign'd to paſs the *Tay*, but here he was like to have been ruin'd, for *Lewis Gourdon*, the Lord *Gourdon*'s Brother, who had born Arms on the Covenanters ſide, and been reconcil'd to the King's Party by his Brother's Mediation, privately ſeduc'd moſt of the *Gourdons* to a defection, and expos'd the Marqueſs, and the Lord *Gourdon* to imminent Danger. The Marqueſs was very much troubl'd at this Deſertion, and to ſecure the Remainders of his Army, ſent the weakeſt of them away with all his Baggage, commanding them to meet him at *Brechen*, himſelf with 150 Horſe, and 600 choſen Foot march'd with incredible Speed to *Dundee*, aſſaulted, took and plunder'd the Town, when ſudden News was brought that *Bayly* and *Hurrey* were with 3000 Foot, and 800 Horſe, within a Mile of the Place. He rally'd his Men, which he cou'd not eaſily do, they being buſie in plundering and deſtroying the City, and tho' his Soldiers were weary with a march of twenty Miles, and the late Action, yet he encourag'd them by his Example and Praiſes ſo well to do their Duty, that he ſav'd them

all. The Enemy was come within Musket-ſhot of the Town, before his Men were in a marching Poſture, and his Retreat was admirable, he order'd 400 Foot before, commanded the other 200 to follow, and himſelf clos'd the Rear with his Horſe, marching in open order in caſe of Neceſſity, to have room for light Musketeers. The Covenanters diſcovering their Number, and ſeeing them ſo few, divided their Army in two, and ſo purſu'd them. Their Van charg'd *Montroſe*'s Rear, and were ſo well receiv'd by the Musketeers, that they cool'd in their Perſuit; they endeavour'd to Flank 'em, but had no better Fortune on that ſide; *Montroſe*'s Foot facing about, 3 of the Covenanters drop'd, which render'd the reſt more wary. The Marqueſs march'd on, and now and then a light Skirmiſh happen'd, till Night put an end to the diſpute, and *Montroſe* arriv'd at *Aberbroth*, where conſidering that the Enemy might have intercepted the direct way to the Hills, with their Numerous Horſe; he commanded his Men to turn South Weſtward, and march with all poſſible Speed, by which Artifice and Incredible Toil he paſt over *Southeſke*, not far from *Coneſton* Caſtle, and from thence to *Brecken*, to fetch thoſe Men that were left with the Carriages. Theſe hearing of his Danger were fled to the Mountains, whither he follow'd them,

and

and having by a continu'd march of ſixty Miles, without Sleep, without Meat, or any other Refreſhment gain'd the Foot of the Hills. The Covenanters at length left him, after a perſuit of three Days, and two Nights to no purpoſe. This Retreat is certainly the moſt glorious Action of the whole Civil War, and gives us a noble Idea of the Marqueſs's Indefatigable Diligence, Undaunted Courage, and Admirable Conduct. He detach'd the Lord *Gourdon* with his Father's Vaſſals to raiſe Recruits and Supplies among the Dependants on his Family, and to win upon his Brother, which he perform'd and join'd the General in *Mar* with 1000 Foot, and 200 Horſe. *Montroſe* himſelf with 500 Foot and 50 Horſe, march'd through *Angus* into *Perthſhire* to make a Diverſion there, till he was recruited. *Bayly* was quarter'd in *Perth* Town, and *Hurrey* with 600 Horſe follow'd the Lord *Gordon*. *Bayly* intended to ſurprize the Marqueſs at *Kreif*, 12 Miles from *Perth*; but *Montroſe* having notice of his approach by his Scouts, put himſelf in the Rear of his ſmall Army, and march'd them in the Night to *Lough Ern*, the next Day to *Balwider*, where the Earl of *Aboyne*, the Marqueſs of *Huntley*'s Eldeſt Son join'd him with other Gentlemen, that had eſcap'd out of *Carliſle*. Thence he march'd to *Catrine's*, and here he receiv'd advice,

that *Hurrey* was upon engaging with the Lord *Gordon*. *Montroſe* flies to his Aſſiſtance, paſſes by *Balwider*, and a Lake the head of the *Tay* 24 Miles long, then he travers'd *Athol* and *Angus* over the *Grainſbane*, and through *Glenmak Vale* into *Mar*, where he join'd the Lord *Gordon*, and advanc'd towards the *Spey* to find the Enemy. *Hurrey* wou'd not fight him, and repaſſing the *Spey*, retir'd to *Innerneſs*, where he had appointed *Bayly*, and his Army to *Rendezvous*. *Montroſe* follow'd him, and encampt at a Village call'd *Alderna*. *Hurrey* with the Addition of other Forces had 3500 Foot, and 400 Horſe. The Marqueſs no more than 1500 Foot, and 200 Horſe; he poſſeſt himſelf of a riſing Ground, and *Hurrey* attacking him there the 4th of *May* 1645. *Montroſe*, tho' *Macdonald* in his Right-wing was routed, charg'd *Hurrey*'s Cavalry ſo fiercely, that they ran and left the Foot, who fought ſtoutly; but at laſt they threw down their Arms, and fled; the Marqueſs follow'd *Hurrey*, who hardly eſcap'd, march'd to *Elgin*, paſt the *Spey*, and came to *Strathboggy*. Here *Bayly* met him, not yet fit to fight with freſh Men, wherefore he drew off in the Night to *Balvoine*, and from thence to *Badenoth*. *Bayly* following him Skirmiſhing, and beating up his Quarters, till he ſaw there was no good to be done by it, then he left him, and march'd to *Innerneſs*.

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The Earl of *Lindsay* taking upon him the Command of the *Covenanters*, march'd into *Angus* as a Reserve to *Baily*, and to hinder *Montrose*'s Passage over the *Frith*, fearing he wou'd carry the War nearer *Edinburgh*. *Montrose* resolv'd to go after him, and do the Work at once, or dye on the place. He march'd thro' *Marr*, over *Grainsbane*, and Encamp'd on the Banks of the *Airley*, where most of his *Northern* Men, seduc'd by the old Marquess of *Huntley*, deserted him, when he was in hopes to have cut off *Lindsay*'s Army that lay at *Newtill*, 7 Miles off. After this Defection hearing *Baily* had join'd the Earl of *Lindsay*, he retir'd to *Kingarse* Castle, and detach'd the Lord *Gourdon* and *Macdonald* to raise more Men in the North, and the Highlands. *Lindsay* then divided his Army, himself scour'd and wasted *Athol*; and *Baily* advanc'd with his Horse to *Bogi*, a Castle of the Lord *Huntley*, designing to destroy his Country, which the Marquess of *Montrose*, notwithstanding the just Provocations he had to abandon him to his Enemies, march'd to defend; and having gather'd what Forces he cou'd together, he approach'd to *Baily*'s Camp, and sent a Trumpet to dare him to come out and fight, which *Baily* refusing, the Marquess drew off to *Druminere* Castle, and from thence to *Ailford* Hill, which he possess'd himself of. A Bog was behind him, a very steep

ſteep Hill before. *Bayly* purſu'd him thither, and when he had view'd his Poſt wou'd have left him, and declin'd Engaging at a diſadvantage, being an experienc'd Officer. The Lord *Balcuriſe*, a Colonel of Horſe, over-perſwaded him to Fight, and the Battel had the fortune of ſuch as are fought againſt the Opinion of the General. The Number of Foot were equal, each 2000. *Bayly* had 600 Horſe, and *Montroſe* 200. The Marqueſs deſcended into the Vale. The Lord *Guordon*, in his right Wing, began the Fight the 2d. of *July*, and his Brother Colonel *Nathaniel Gourdon* ſeeing the Enemies Horſe clos'd, and came to dint of Sword, Cry'd out to the Foot, *fling down your Guns, and Cut their Horſes hamſtrings with your Swords*, which they did. And *Montroſe* in the Confuſion the *Covenanters* Cavalry were in, coming upon them with a Body of Reſerve, the Enemy fled; the Horſe made a handſome Retreat, while the Foot kept the Royaliſts in play, and indeed *Bayley*'s Infantry fought it out to the laſt, and refuſing Quarter were all cut off. The Lord *Gourdon* fell in the beginning of the Engagement, very much lamented by the Marqueſs, and his Party.

Montroſe preſently march'd thro' *Angus*, where he met *Patrick Graham* and *Mackdonald*, with the Men of *Athol*, and freſh Highlanders, 1700 ſtout Fellows in all; with

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theſe he reſolv'd to carry the War into the heart of the Kingdom, and beat up the Quarters of the Convention of the Eſtates met at St. *Johnſtown*, he Encampt in *Methſin* Forreſt near the Town, and ſtruck the Senators with mortal Fear. But Troops aſſembling in *Fife*, and other Countries, to diſlodge him, he retir'd to *Dunkilden*, hearing a powerful Army was advancing towards St. *Johnſtown*. At *Dunkilden* he expected Forces from the North, and accordingly the Earl of *Aboyne* with 200 Horſe and 200 Foot, the Earl of *Airly* and Sir *David Ogilby* his Son, with 80 Horſe, came into him. With this Reinforcement he march'd to *Stratherne*, from thence to *Kinroſs*, and thence to *Sterling*, and Encamp'd in *Kilſithe* Field in *Fife*, the richeſt and moſt populous Country of the Kingdom. *Bayly*, and the Enemy were within three Miles of him, and the Earls of *Lanerick*, *Caſſils*, *Eglinton* and *Glencarn*, raiſing Men in great Numbers about him. He had 4500 Foot, and 500 Horſe. *Bayly* 6000 Foot and 800 Horſe, the *Royaliſts* incourag'd by the Example of the old Earl of *Airly*, who with his ſingle Troop of Horſe beat three of the Enemies Troops, receiv'd the *Covenanters*, who attack'd him ſo bravely, that they were diſpirited at the firſt Charge; and *Montroſe*, at the Head of *Ogilby*'s Troop of Horſe, falling upon the Enemies Cavalry forc'd them to flight, facing upon

upon their Infantry, and treading them down. A Battalion of *Montroſe*'s Foot being too raſhly engag'd among the *Covenanters* at the Onſet, the Earl of *Airly* diſengag'd them, which ſo animated the *Royaliſts* that, giving a general Shout, they ran upon the Enemy, and bore down all before them, not 100 of their Foot eſcaping. The Arms, Baggage and Spoils of the Field were the preſent Reward of the Conquerors, who loſt many of the *Ogilbyes*, and ſome common Soldiers; the *Covenanters* Horſe poſted ſome to *Sterling*, and ſome to the *Frith*, where the Riders diſmounted and got into Boats, and here the Lord *Argyle* a third time made his eſcape by Water. This Battel was fought the 15th. of *September*, and the Victory, which the *Scots* ſay, was obtain'd by *Bayly*'s Treachery, ſecur'd all the Northern Parts, and produc'd a new face of Things over the whole Kingdom; and had the Horſe *Montroſe* expected from *England* arriv'd, he wou'd certainly, as he wrote to the King, have Conquer'd from *Dan* to *Beerſheba*. The Lord *Digby* and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* with 1500 Horſe were Order'd to endeavour to enter *Scotland*, and join the Marqueſs; but the *Scots* intercepted them, and routed 'em, on *Carliſle* Sands. However *Montroſe*, on Notice that the Earls of *Caſſils* and *Eglington* were raiſing 400 Men in the Weſt, enter'd *Cludeſdale*, and poſ-

poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Glaſcow*, the Capital City of thoſe Parts. Here he hang'd up ſome of the *Covenanters*, by virtue of his Power as Governor General. From *Glaſcow* he remov'd to *Bothwell*, where ſeveral Noblemen, by their Deputies, made their Submiſſions to him; and he ſent the Laird of *Marcheſtown* and Colonel *Gourdon*, with a Party of Horſe, to ſummon *Edinburgh*, on pain of Fire and Sword, to Submit to his Authority. The Magiſtrates diſpatch'd away ſome of their Body, to pray him to *Accept of their Obedience*, and aſſure him of their future Loyalty. He Pardon'd them, on Condition that the Caſtle ſhou'd be Surrender'd to the King, or his Officers, and all the *Royaliſts* be Releas'd who were Priſoners in that City. The Priſoners were ſet at Liberty, but the *Covenanters* did not give *Montroſe* time to poſſeſs himſelf of the Caſtle. The Marqueſs oblig'd the Earls of *Caſſiles* and *Eglinton* to fly into *Ireland*, and the Earls of *Hume*, *Roburgh* and *Traquair* to ſide with him. The Earl of *Lanerick*, Duke *Hamilton*'s Brother, openly deny'd his Aſſiſtance, ſaying, *He wou'd have nothing to do with him, nor pretend Friendſhip where he meant not to perform.* And it had been better for *Montroſe* if the other Lords had declar'd their Deſigns as freely; on the contrary while they amus'd him with a ſhew of Reconciliation, they call'd in *David Leſley* with the

the *Scottiſh* Horſe out of *England*; *Montroſe* ſuſpected their Deceit but cou'd not prevent it, for having lain long at *Bothwell* his Soldiers grew unruly for want of Action; the *Highlanders* ran away with their Spoil, and *Macdonald*, with 3000 of thoſe Mountainers, follow'd by Conſent, on Condition they ſhou'd return to him after they had ſeen and ſettled their Families, which they never did, and *Montroſe* had not a ſufficient Strength left with him to oppoſe *Leſley*.

While he lay at *Bothwell*, in the beginning of the Year 1646, Sir *Robert Spotſwood*, Secretary of State for *Scotland*, came to him from the King with Inſtructions, that he ſhou'd *confide in the Advice of the Earls of* Roxburgh *and* Traquair, *of whoſe Fidelity there was no Queſtion to be made, and haſten towards the* Tweed, *to meet a Party of Horſe inſtantly ſent by the King out of* England, *with which he might ſafely give Battel to* David Leſly, *if he ſhou'd march that way as was expected. Spotſwood* brought him a larger Commiſſion, Impowering him to Confer the Honour of Knighthood; and to Exerciſe his new Office he Knighted *Mackdonald* at his departure. *Montroſe*, in Obedience to the King's Commands, march'd to *Caider* Caſtle, where the Earl of *Aboin*, and his Followers left him. Then paſſing by *Edinburgh* he march'd thro' *Louthian*, and join'd *Dowglaſs*

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in *Straithgal*. *Leſley* ſeiz'd *Traquair*, *Roxburgh*, and the other Lords, who pretended to be *Montroſe*'s Friends, and marching Eaſt of *Lothian* endeavour'd to cut off the Marqueſs's Retreat to the Hills, which he perceiving march'd to *Anandale*, ſo to *Niddiſdale*, and the County of *Ayre*, thence to *Jedburgh* and *Selkirk*, where he took up his Quarters, being buſy in Diſpatches to the King. *Leſley* purſu'd him, and his Scouts proving falſe, he ſurpriz'd and routed his Army, putting all he cou'd come at to the Sword. In this Extremity Sir *John Daliel* came in, to his Succour with a Party of Horſe, with which *Montroſe* Charg'd thro' the Enemy, and made his Eſcape. He went Northwards, Forded the *Cluid*, where many of his old Soldiers, and the Earls of *Crawford* and *Airly* join'd him, and he had got together 200 Horſe, and ſome Foot; and ſeeing the Lord *Huntly*, who was very powerful, not only refus'd to ſend him Supplies, but deny'd a Conference with him, he reſolv'd to ſurprize him, and bring him to reaſon at *Strathboggy*. *Huntley* having Information of his Deſign withdrew to his Caſtle of *Bogy*, thither *Montroſe* follows him in diſguiſe, ruſhes into the Caſtle, and Salutes him, and by his Arguments and Prayers ſo far prevail'd, that *Huntley* agreed to take Arms to paſs the *Spey*, and fall into *Murrayland*, while *Montroſe* march'd Southward to *Strathpey*,

and

and both to meet and beſiege *Inverneſs*.

Huntley trifled away his time in plundering, and gave the Covenanters opportunity to relieve the Place, tho' *Montroſe* often ſent to him to haſten away, and to incouage him, advis'd him of what Troops were come into him, the Earl of *Seaforth*'s Tenants, the Lord *Roſs*, and ſome *Highlanders* under Sir *James Macdonald*, *Macklin* and *Glengar*, which reinforcement increas'd his Army ſo conſiderably, that he had a greater Body of Troops with him, than ever he had before; however, General *Middleton* coming out of *England* with 600 Horſe, and 800 Foot, and joining the Covenanters Army, he was forc'd to raiſe the Siege of *Inverneſs*. The Enemy attack'd his Rear, yet he made good his Retreat with ſmall loſs, and advanc'd towards the Marqueſs of *Huntley*, and for Expidition taking a Troop of Horſe with him, he rode to confer with *Huntley*, who did not ſtay his coming. And *Montroſe* perceiving the Northern Men began to fall off, he reſolv'd to keep them in their Duty by force. The defeat of *Digby*'s Horſe was a terrible blow to him, and after the rout at *Selkirk*, the Royaliſts never engag'd heartily on his ſide. While he was forming his Deſigns of the North, the King, who had thrown himſelf into the Hands of the *Scots* Army in

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England, and ſent him a command to *lay down his Arms, and diſband, and to paſs over into* France *till his Majeſty's farther Pleaſure.* He reſiſted a while, but at laſt hearing *Huntley* was reſolv'd to force him to ſubmit, and that many of his Friends had under-hand made their Peace with the Enemy, he was oblig'd to give way to the Fortune of the Kirk, and in diſguiſe to embark for *France.* The time ſet for his departure was the 1ſt of *September* 1647. and he was to be treated as a Traitor, if he was taken in *Scotland* afterwards, the Covenanters were to furniſh him with Shiping, which they neglected, purpoſely that he might ſlip the time, and ſuffer the Law as they call'd it. For it ſeems in thoſe Days, the Rebel was the only Loyal Perſon, and the Loyal Man, the *Traitor*, ſo far had they inverted the Courſe of Juſtice. The Marqueſs ſeeing they took no care to provide for his embarking, himſelf hir'd a *Norwayman* of *Bergen*, at a Port in *Angus* whither he went *Incognito*, that he might not be intercepted, and with him Sir *John Hurrey*, Dr. *Wiſhart*, who wrote his Life in Latin, and other Gentlemen. went into Baniſhment, leaving their Country to the diſpoſal of the Covenanters.

He was ſo much reſpected in all the Courts he came to, for the Renown of his glorious Actions, that his Exile *ſeem'd*

rather a Progreſs than a Baniſhment. On the Murder of King *Charles* the Iſt. he was furiouſly enrag'd with the Regicides, and their Party in *Scotland*; he cou'd not expreſs the Violence of his Grief, and in one of the Raptures of his Sorrow and Reſentment, he wrote with the point of his Sword thoſe Verſes, which begin thus,

Great, Good and Juſt, &c.

The Poetry of thoſe Times is not Extraordinary, and the Reader will excuſe us for omitting it. When King *Charles* the IId. came to the Crown, he made him Knight of the Garter, and employ'd him in ſeveral Courts of *Europe*, to ſolicite aid for his recovering his Right. The Kirk in *Scotland* acknowledg'd him to be their King, and ſent Mr. *Windram* to him, who was then at *Jerſey*, to deſire his Majeſty to remove out of that Iſland, and the States wou'd commence a Treaty with him. *Windram* was ſo long on his Journey, that before his arrival the King had granted a Commiſſion to the Marquets of *Montroſe* to raiſe Forces, and Land in that Kingdom; when *Windram* arriv'd, and gave his Majeſty an account of his Meſſage, ſome Perſons about him were for *Montroſe*'s way to reduce the *Scots* by the Sword, thinking a Treaty wou'd take up too much time, or rather fearing they ſhou'd themſelves

ſelves ſuffer more by a Peace, than they cou'd loſe by a War. The King however appointed the *Scots* Deputies to meet him at *Breda*, and own'd the Convention of Eſtates, as a lawful Parliament.

In the mean time the Lord *Montroſe* was buſie at *Copenhagen*, ſoliciting the King of *Denmark* for Supplies, he afterwards went to *Stockholm* on the ſame Errand to the Queen of *Sweden*, and from thence to ſeveral Princes of *Germany*; yet hearing the King was like to come to Terms with the Kirk, his Enemies, he generouſly wrote to him, *To make an agreement with the Eſtates of Scotland, ſo that he might be Honourably, and with Safety reſtor'd to his Rights and Dignities, and rather than break off with them, to give conſent to have him baniſh'd the Kingdom, that ſo he might receive no prejudice for his Conſideration.* The King wou'd by no means yield to his requeſt, and by a Letter dated the 30th of *January* 1649. he inform'd him fully of the Progreſs made in the Treaty, *And Authoriz'd him vigorouſly to proceed in his Enterprizes, not doubting but all his Loyal Subjects of* Scotland *wou'd join themſelves with him, and thoſe that were otherwiſe diſpos'd wou'd ſubmit themſelves to the Treaty, or be forc'd to it by Arms.* His Majeſty went to *Breda*, and the *Scots* Commiſſioners met him there, and began the

Treaty, which the King delaid in Expectation to ſee what the Marqueſs of *Montroſe* wou'd do for him.

The Marqueſs after many Diſcouragements embark'd for *Scotland*, about the beginning of *April* 1650. and landed in the Iſle of *Orkney* the 15th of the ſame Month, accompany'd by the Lord *Trendraught*, Sir *John Hurrey*, *Henry Graham*, his Baſtard Brother, and others with 500 *German* Soldiers, and 1500 Arms, which were tranſported in two Ships, and a ſmall Frigat of 14 Guns, Col. *King* promis'd to come up to him with ſome Horſe from *Sweden*, but he did not, Col. *Ogleby*, and Col. *Cockram*, who were truſted with Money to raiſe Men, the one in *Poland*, the other in *Holland*, ran away with it, two other Ships which he brought from *Denmark* with him were caſt away, and in them 200 Soldiers; yet theſe Misfortunes had no Influence over his Courage. He tranſported himſelf from *Orkney* to *Cathneſs* in hopes to join the Lord *Pluſcardy*, who was raiſing Men for him in the Earl of *Seaforth*'s Territories.

There was as much Raſhneſs as Bravery in this Enterprize. The Parliament of *Scotland* which the King had own'd, had declar'd him a *Traitor*, and the Kirk with whom his Majeſty had join'd, by taking their ſolemn League and Covenant had Excom-

communicated him: And Excommunication under a Presbyterian Government, is as terrible as under a Popiſh. The Treaty was almoſt concluded at *Breda*, and if the King own'd *Montroſe* in his Invaſion, He wou'd be thought to break of the Treaty, and fly from the Conceſſions he had granted, which wou'd reflect on his Honour, and if he did not own him, the Parliament had Reaſon to proceed againſt him as an Enemy to their State, and diſturber of the publick Peace. In theſe deſperate Circumſtances. *Montroſe* began the War, and we cannot but imagine, that he wou'd not have attempted it, had there been any other way for him to return to his Country.

The Eſtates immediately had News of his Landing, and order'd *David Leſley* to march againſt him, with the main Body of their Forces, *Leſley* commanded Col. *Straughan* with 300 Horſe to haſten away before, and himſelf follow'd with the Body of the Army. *Montroſe* detach'd Sir *John Hurrey* to take in *Dunbeth* Houſe, which ſurrender'd at the firſt Summons, but the Earl of *Southerland* kept the Country from coming into him by his Intereſt, and the Men he had rais'd for that Purpoſe. *Straughan* advancing faſter than was expected, came upon the Marqueſs unawares, charg'd and routed his little Army, the *Orkney* Men throwing down their Arms after a ſhort diſ-

pute, and the *Germans* were oblig'd to do the ſame, not above 100 of his Men eſcap'd; Sir *John Hurrey*, the Lord *Trendraught*, and moſt of the Gentlemen, that had engag'd with him were taken. *Montroſe* got off by the ſwiftneſs of his Horſe, which he quitted, and threw aſide his embroider'd Belt, his Coat and Star, and dreſt like a *Highlander*, put himſelf into the Hands of the Laird of *Aſton*, who formerly had been of his ſide. *Aſton* apprehenſive of his Danger in harbouring him, deliver'd him up to *David Leſley*, who ſent him to *Edinburgh* under a ſtrong Guard. At *Dundee* (tho' he had been very unkind to that City in the War) the People were very civil to him, and on the Road, he was permitted to call at the Earl of *Southeskes*, his Father-in-Law, to ſee two of his Children. At *Leith* the Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh* met him to inſult him, and conduct him to Priſon; he was mounted on a Cart Horſe to expoſe him to the Inſolence of the Rabble, the other Priſoners marching on Foot. At the Cannon Gate, the Hangman attended with a Cart, and in it was plac'd a high Chair, into which he was put, and made to ride Bareheaded, while the Hangman rode by his ſide with his Cap on. In this vile Pomp he was convey'd to the *Talbooth*, and there Impriſon'd the 18th of *May* 1650. behaving himſelf under all their Affronts, with much

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Magnanimity, and his undaunted Soul, mov'd Pity in the Hearts of his greateſt Enemies; he told the Miniſters that viſited him, *Whereas they thought they affronted him, by carrying him in a Cart; he eſteem'd it the moſt honourable and joyful Cavalcade that ever he made.* The 20th of *March* he was brought before the Parliament, he appear'd Dreſt, as Fine and Gay, as if he had been going to a Feſtival. The Lord Chancellor told him, that he was commanded to mind him *of the laſt Judgement of God befallen him, for his perfidious breaking of the Covenant, and deſpiſing the Oath of God, for his barbarous Cruelty, and the Blood he had ſpilt, taking advantage of his Brethren, when their chief Forces were employ'd elſewhere, and that God by his Providence had brought him thither to receive Sentence of Condemnation.* The Marqueſs humbly ask'd, if he might ſpeak for himſelf, which was permitted; he excus'd *what he had done, as by the King's Order, and he ſubmitted to this Parliament, whom he own'd as a true Parliament by Authority from his Majeſty; he was not afraid to die, and ſhou'd with Joy follow his Maſter, that the Blood he had ſpilt was the neceſſity of War, that his coming now was to accelerate the Treaty.* After which, Sentence, with all the dreadful Circumſtances that their Revenge cou'd think on, was pronounc'd againſt him, to be hang'd the next Day, the

21ſt of *May*, which was perform'd on a Gallows 30 Foot high, his Quarters were ſent to the four principal Cities of the Kingdom, and 'tis admirable to conſider with what firmneſs of Soul he heard, and ſuffer'd the cruel Sentence, ſaying, *He took it for greater honour to have his Head fix'd on the Priſon Gate in ſuch a Cauſe, than to have his Picture in the King's Bed-Chamber*; being about to mount the Scaffold, the Hangman put a Rope over his Shoulders, with his Declaration and Hiſtory faſten'd to it, which he wore with the ſame equal Temper as he had endur'd their other ignominious Treatment. Proteſting, *he embrac'd that with no leſs Alacrity, than he had done the Garter*; he farther ask'd, *Whether they had any more diſhonour to put upon him.* He then made a long Speech to the Spectators, much to the ſame Purpoſe with his defence before the Parliament, after which lifting up his Hands and Eyes to Heaven he ſpent ſome time in his Devotions, and then chearfully reſign'd himſelf to the Execution.

The ſame Day Sir *John Hurrey*, and Col. *Spotſwood* were beheaded. The King was highly diſpleas'd with the *Scots*, for the Death of this his faithful Servant, yet he did not think fit to break off the Treaty for it, he Complain'd to the Parliament, and they deſir'd him *not to ſtumble at it, aſſuring him that there was nothing in what they did, but*

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to accompliſh his Ends, and to ſerve his Intereſt to the beſt Advantage. So the Treaty went on, and the King ſail'd to *Scotland*, where he was receiv'd with Pomp and Joy.

THE

THE LIFE OF *OLIVER CROMWELL.*

PART I.

THE History of *Oliver Cromwell* is so full of Action, that we have no time to reflect were we dispos'd to it. We shall therefore only shew by what Means he rose to the Sovereign Power of these Three Kingdoms, and how he behav'd himself in the Possession of it. He was Born in *Huntington* the 25th. of *April* 1599, being the third Son of Mr. *Robert*

Robert Cromwell, third Son of Sir *Henry Cromwell*. Sir *Oliver* his Unkle gave him his Name at the Font. His Grandfather was a Gentleman of great Worth and Fortune, but having many Children, 5 Sons, and ſeveral Daughters, a ſmall Portion fell to his Son *Robert*'s ſhare, yet enough to maintain him like a Gentleman, and to give liberal Education to his Children. *Oliver*'s Mother was *Elizabeth*, Neice of Sir *Robert Steward*, and his Father ſo conſiderable in the County, that he was always in the Commiſſion of the Peace, belov'd for his Vertue, and readineſs to ſerve the Country. *Oliver*, in his Childhood, delighted in rude Exerciſes more than Reading; however, his Father not to be wanting in his part, put him firſt to Dr. *Beard*, Maſter of the Grammar School in *Huntington*, where he made a very ſmall Proficiency in the Latin Tongue, yet his Father wou'd have him remov'd to *Cambridge*, and ſettled him in *Sydney* College. Here *Oliver* grew tainted with the Follies and Vices of Youth, and his Father dying ſoon after he came to the Univerſity, he gave himſelf over to a lew'd manner of Living, to Drink, Wench, and began to laviſh the ſmall Eſtate his Father's Frugality had ſav'd for him. His Mother thought, by removing him from his ill Company to reclaim him from his ill Courſes, and ſhe therefore ſent him to *Lincolns-Inn*

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to Study the Law. But the Inns of Courts ſeldom make Converts, and few young Men who were Bad before grow Better there. *Oliver* continuing his Extravagancies his Mother took him Home again, where having learn'd to handle a Quarter-Staff, he for Diverſion wou'd attack all the Tinkers, Pedlars and ſturdy Beggars he met with in his Cups, and gave early proofs of his Valour, and rough Diſpoſition. In the height of his Debauchery at *Cambridge* and *Lincolns-Inn* he wou'd have Intervals of Sobriety, and Study hard for a Month together, then ſallying out from his Retirement renew his Frolicks, and be mad for another Month; 'till, in one of his ſerious Fits, reflecting on his wicked Life, he reſolv'd to amend; he threw off his lewd Acquaintance, and made new. The *Puritans* having moſt the Form of Godlineſs in their Converſation he mingled with them, heard their Preachers, and became as remarkable for Temperance and Devotion, as he was before for Folly and Extravagance. This Change recommended him to a Daughter of Sir *James Boucher* of *Eſſex*, whom he Marry'd. She was related to Mr. *Hampden* and Mr. *Goodwyn* of *Buckinghamſhire*. This Allyance fix'd him on the ſide of the *Puritans*, and he grew zealous againſt Forms and Ceremonies. The change of his Manners was ſo great, that having formerly won 30 *l.* of

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one Mr. *Calton* at Play, he cou'd not ſatisfy his Conſcience without refunding the Money he had got by unlawful means. His Unkle Sir *John Steward* dying about this time left him an Eſtate of 500 *l.* a Year, which did not flouriſh as was expected; for what with Treating the Teachers of his Party, what with neglecting his Domeſtick Affairs, to run to Faſts and Lectures, his new Eſtate moulder'd away, however the Reputation of it made him powerful in his Country. In the Year 1628, on Complaints made by the Houſe of Commons, that Popery was too much Encourag'd, he inform'd them how Guilty the Biſhop of *Winton* had been that way. He oppos'd Ship-money violently, and the Illegal Raiſing of Taxes, and by Careſſing the *Puritans*, then the riſing Faction, he grew Popular, at the ſame time that he grew poor; for his Politicks not agreeing with the induſtrious Buſineſs of Husbandry, and a Farm, he found himſelf neceſſitated to Mortgage his Eſtate, which he did, and the Party readily ſupply'd him with what he wanted on good Security.

Oliver was often thinking of a Voyage to *New England*, that Colony being made up of *Godly People*, and *Profeſſors*, ſo the Diſſenters then ſtil'd themſelves. But while his Credit was good he did well enough, and before 'twas quite worn out he got into

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to the Houſe of Commons; the Occaſion of it was this, One Mr. *Bernard* coming to be Recorder of *Huntington* diſputed with *Oliver* for Precedence, and as pious as the latter was he was every whit as Proud, and rather than give way to this new Comer, he remov'd with his Family to *Cambridge*, hir'd a Houſe, and got ſuch an Intereſt in the Inhabitants, eſpecially with one Mr. *Tyms* an Alderman of the Town, that join'd with Mr. *Hampden*'s Recommendation, procur'd him to be Choſen Burgeſs for that Borough in the Long Parliament, which Met the 3d. of *Nov.* 1640.

He firſt ſhew'd the Malignity of his Diſpoſition to the King, by Encouraging all Petitions and Remonſtrances of Grievances, and was always look'd on by Mr. *Pym* and Mr. *Hampden* too hot to be of a Cabal, but very proper for Action. The Redreſs of Grievances being delay'd, the Commons fell on the Miniſters of State; the Earl of *Strafford* was Impeach'd, Try'd, Convicted and Beheaded, as an Evil Councellor; others threaten'd. The King had giv'n up his Power of Diſſolving them without their own Conſent; and they Favouring the *Scots* Invaſion, Countenancing Tumults, Meddling with Epiſcopacy, and always Complaining of Grievances, His Majeſty left them, and went to *York* in order to ſeize *Hull*; but Sir *John Hotham* refuſing to deli-

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ver it to him he ſet up his Standard at *Nottingham* in *Auguſt*, and ſent a Meſſage, that he was reſolv'd to reduce *Hull* by force, and the Parliament Reſolv'd to raiſe Forces to defend it. Several Members took Commiſſions, and among theſe *Oliver* was one of the firſt, he rais'd a Troop of Horſe in the Neighbourhood of *Huntington*, but doubting the Courage of his Men, he, to try them, order'd 12 of his Troop to Sally out on the reſt, with a Trumpet ſounding a Charge, as if they came from ſome of the King's Garriſons; immediately 20 of his new rais'd Men fled, whom having reproach'd for their Cowardice he diſmiſs'd, and was afterwards ſo careful how he ſupply'd their Places, that he wou'd receive none into his Troop, who were not animated with *Zeal* for the *Cauſe*. He was nam'd a Commiſſioner in the Ordinance for ſettling the Militia of the Eaſtern Countries, who had enter'd into an Aſſociation to ſtand by the Parliament, *Oliver* knowing the Univerſity to have an influence on the Town of *Cambridge*, and that the Doctors wou'd be ſure to declare for the King, ſecur'd that Place for the Parliament in *January*, and ſeiz'd the Plate of the Colleges the very Day that 'twas intended to be convey'd to the King at *Oxford*. Then he put a Garriſon into *Whitleſea*, where *Norfolk* joins the Iſle of *Ely*, by a Bridge over a Ditch, which

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is the only Paſſage from thence into *Lincolnſhire*. After that he went to the Aſſiſtance of the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, who having taking *Gainsborough* with the Earl of *Kingſton*, and other Noblemen and Gentlemen Priſoners, was beſieg'd in that Place by the Earl of *New-Caſtle*, and forc'd to deliver it up again. *Cromwell* had now a Regiment of Horſe of his own Countrymen, moſt of them Freeholders, or their Sons, who for *Conſcience ſake*, ſaid they engag'd on the Parliament ſide, and they choſe to ſerve under *Cromwell*, as a Perſon whoſe pretences was the ſame with their own; they were all arm'd in Back and Breaſt-Plates, and Head-Pieces, they were nam'd *Ironſides* for their Bravery, and their Armour; they wou'd as one Man ſtand firmly, and Charge deſperately, and with theſe *Cromwell* perform'd ſuch Signal Service, that he became a Favourite of his Maſters. The Lord *Mancheſter* being join'd by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, the Lord *Willoughby* and *Cromwell* made up a very conſiderable Army in the County of *Lincoln*. Here *Cromwell* firſt contracted a Friendſhip with Col. *Ireton*, who afterwards marry'd his Daughter. The former was ſent out with his Regiment to obſerve the Enemy, and meeting with Col. *Haſtings*, and ſeven Troops of the King's Horſe, he charg'd and defeated them, *Mancheſter* took the City of *Lincoln*. The

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Lord *Willoughby* did the ſame by *Bullingbroke* Caſtle. His Majeſty finding the aſſociated Counties very troubleſome to him, iſſu'd out his Commiſſion of Array, which was intended to be put in Execution by Sir *Henry Conisby*, high Sheriff of *Hertfordſhire* at St. *Alban*'s, where he ſummon'd the Gentlemen to meet, and raiſe the Country for the King. He was doing this, and juſt going to Proclaim the Parliament, and their General, the Earl of *Eſſex* Traytors; when *Cromwell* having notice of his Deſign, ſuddenly enter'd the Town with a Party of Horſe, ſeiz'd Sir *Henry*, and his Company, and ſent them Priſoners to *London*. This very much oblig'd the Parliament, who took it as a great Affront, to have ſuch an Action done ſo near 'em, and *Cromwell* had the Thanks of the Houſe. From St. *Albans* he went to *Lowſtoff* in *Suffolk*, where he heard Sir *John Pettus*, Sir *Thomas Barker*, Mr. *Knevet*, Mr. *Catline*, and about 30 Gentlemen more were met to Sign an Aſſociation for the King, carry'd on by the Lord *Capell*; theſe he ſurpriz'd, which was a fatal Blow to the King's Intereſt in the Eaſtern Counties, and *Lyn* was forc'd ſoon after to ſurrender, by which means thoſe Counties were no more diſturb'd by the Royaliſts, during the Civil War. In his way to *Lincolnſhire*, whither he was returning to join the Earl of *Mancheſter*'s Army, of which he was lately

made Lieutenant General; he call'd at *Cambridge*, aſſiſted thoſe whom the Parliament had ſent thither to *Purge* the Univerſity, and left all Things in the Aſſociated Counties in quiet. In *Lincolnſhire* he ſav'd Captain *Wray*'s Troop of Horſe, which the Earl of *New-Caſtle* had like to have ſurpriz'd. The Parliament invited the *Scots* to their Aſſiſtance, and General *Leſly* enter'd *England* with 15000 Men, in the Year 1643. *Leſly* and Sir *Thomas Fairfax* laid Siege to *York*, the Lord *Mancheſter* gather'd what Troops were quarter'd in the County of *Lincoln* together, to make up an Army to join the *Scots*. From *Lincoln* he march'd into *Warwickſhire*, and *Cromwell* with him, ſtill increaſing his Forces; the Lord *Mancheſter* ſent his Lieutenant-General from *Warwick* to Guard Ammunition to *Glouceſter*, by the way of *Hilleſden* Houſe, where Sir *Alexander Denton*, the owner, Col. *Smith* with 200 *Walloons* kept Garriſon for the King. Theſe *Cromwell* forc'd to ſurrender, then gave an allarm to *Oxford*, and ſo went on to *Glouceſter* with his Convoy. Thence he return'd to the Lord *Mancheſter*, who was order'd to obſerve Prince *Rupert*, who hearing the Earl of *New-Caſtle* was very much preſt in *York*, march'd towards that City with 20000 Horſe and Foot, the Lord *Mancheſter* was too weak to oppoſe him; but he arriv'd at the Camp before *York*, time

time enough to aſſiſt *Leſly* and *Fairfax* in the Victory of *Marſton Moor*; theſe three Generals rais'd the Siege to be the better prepar'd to receive the Prince, and drew up their Army in a Plain, eight Miles from the City. The Prince fetching a compaſs about *York* with his Forces, join'd the Earl of *New-Caſtle*; and with an Army of 27000 Horſe and Foot, march'd againſt the Parliament's, and Poſſeſt himſelf of the beſt Places in *Marſton Moor*, both for the Advantage of Ground and Wind. On the 2d of *July*, about Seven-a-Clock in the Morning, the Prince's Left-Wing fell on the Parliament's Right, routed them, and drove them out of the Field. The Royaliſts Foot had the ſame ſucceſs over the Parliaments, and *Leſly Manchester*, and the Lord *Fairfax* giving all for loſt, fled with the reſt; many of the Parliament's Soldiers threw down their Arms. The Prince too eagerly purſuing his good Fortune, *Cromwell* with his own Regiment, and Sir *Thomas Fairfax* with ſome rally'd Men fell on the Prince's Right-Wing, and broke them immediately: This incourag'd others of the Parliament's Troops to rally, who jointly with *Cromwell* and *Fairfax* attack'd firſt Prince *Rupert*'s Troops, and then *Goreing*'s, divided in the perſuit, and tolly diſperſt them, three thouſand Royaliſts dy'd on the Spot,

3000 were taken Priſoners, 10000 Arms, and all their Bagage were the Conquerors Reward. *Cromwell* was ſlightly wounded in the Neck, his Valour, and that of his Regiment, whom he call'd his *Lambs*, was every where cry'd up. *York* ſurrender'd to the Generals, and then they march'd Southward; hearing the Parliament's Army in *Cornwall*, had been oblig'd to give up their Arms, and the Earl of *Eſſex* to eſcape by Sea. The Victory of *Marſton Moor* was owing to *Oliver*'s Courage, and the Parliament from that time took him into their Favour, which *Cromwell* obſerving, did his beſt to pleaſe 'em; ſometime after this the Earl of *Manchester* having refus'd to give an order to him to charge a Party of Horſe, where the King was perſonally Preſent; he came to *London*, and complain'd of it, tho' he ow'd his advancement chiefly to his Friendſhip, and this complaint had ſuch a good effect, that *Oliver* in a little while had the Earl's Commiſſion.

Sir *William Waller*, Col. *Balfour* with *Eſſex*'s Horſe, and the Lord *Mancheſter* and *Cromwell* from the North, having join'd General *Eſſex*, who had rally'd his old Foot; they all march'd to diſlodge the King at *Newbury*, where a Battel had formerly been fought, and the 27th of *October*,

Waller, *Balfour*, and *Skippon* attack'd the King's Camp on the ſide of *Shevely*. *Manchester* and *Cromwell* fell on the Royaliſts on *Spean* ſide; and tho' the latter made a very gallant defence, yet the Parliament's Soldiers to revenge the Affront put upon 'em in *Cornwal*, where the King made 'em Exchange their Basket-hilted Swords for Oaken-ſticks, drove the Royaliſts out of the Town and Camp, and poſſeſt it themſelves. The King retreated in the Night, and *Cromwell* follow'd him, making a great ſlaughter, till Four-a-Clock in the Morning, and had taken his Majeſty, had not the Earl of *Cleveland* to ſave the King expos'd himſelf, and him *Oliver* brought to *Eſſex*'s Camp, who was lain down before *Dennington* Caſtle. But *Boys*, the Governor, defended himſelf ſo well, that *Eſſex* rais'd the Siege contrary to *Cromwell*'s Advice and Opinion. *Oliver* went to *London*, and inform'd the Parliament of the Matter, and was ſo bold as to lay the blame on the Lord-General, and his Officers. From this time *Eſſex* began to be Jealous of *Cromwell*, and *Oliver* to inſinuate himſelf more and more into the favour of the Commons. The *Scots* hated him for charging them with Cowardice at *Marſton Moor*, and *Cromwell* never lov'd them after that Battel. The Lord *Eſſex*, Mr. *Hollis*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, and Sir *John Meyrick*, met the Lord Chancellor of *Scotland*, and the *Scots* Commiſſioners at

Eſſex Houſe, whither they ſent for *Maynard* and *Whitlock*, leading Men in the Houſe of Commons to conſult with them about a Charge, intended to be exhibited againſt *Cromwell* as an Incendiary between the two Nations; but *Maynard* and *Whitlock* anſwer'd the *Scots* ſo fully, that tho' Mr. *Hollis*, and Sir *Philip Stapleton* ſpoke *ſmartly*, and agreed, that he was an Incendiary, yet the Lord General, and the *Scots* finding they cou'd not carry the Buſineſs, dropt it. The Commons reſolving rather to raiſe than humble him, whom they found to be their moſt fortunate Officer, paſt a Self-denying Ordinance, by which no Member of either Houſe was to have command in the Army, Fleet or Garriſons. This Vote turn'd out the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Earl of *Mancheſter*, Earl of *Denbigh*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *William Brereton*, and other Lords and Commoners. *Oliver* had leave to continue in his Office longer, and the Army being Model'd, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was made General, and *Cromwell* his Lieutenant-General. The Self-denying Ordinance was the firſt attempt of the Independant and Sectarian Party to get the Army into their Hands, and the firſt time that the Soldiers mutiny'd, and pretended to correct their Maſters; they refus'd to march to relieve *Weymouth*, in diſtaſt that their General, the Lord *Eſſex*, was laid aſide, tho'

tho' the Parliament to make amends had given him 10000 *l.* a Year out of Delinquents Eſtates. *Cromwell*'s Regiment was moſt compleat, the beſt arm'd, and moſt civil of any in the Army, yet they were not perfectly ſatisfy'd till their Collonel return'd from *London*, and at his Preſence they were, to uſe his own words, *Obedient, Reſpective and Valiant.* He was order'd to march into the Weſt with Sir *William Waller*, and drive the Royaliſts from before *Weymouth*, and then to follow *Goreing*. In his way, he took the Lord *Peircy* at *Andover*, Sir *James Long* at the *Devizes*, and about 400 Horſe; from thence he made all poſſible haſt to hinder Prince *Rupert*'s, *Goreing*, and *Hopton*'s joining with *Greenvill* and *Berckly* Governor of *Exeter*. At *Cerne* in *Dorſetſhire*, Col. *Holburn*, Col. *Popham*, Col. *Norton*, and Col. *Cook*'s Regiments came into *Cromwell*, who hearing the Enemy was within 3 Miles of him, drew into the *Champian* Country, and there reſolv'd to fight tho' he was not half ſo ſtrong. The Enemy did not think fit to give Battel, but went forward towards *Oxford* and *Cromwell* after them, to prevent their bringing off the King; himſelf with a detach'd Party, advanc'd to *Cawſham* Bridge, and thence to *Whately* to hinder the King's coming out of *Oxford*. Near this City *Cromwell* fell upon a Party of the Royaliſts, commanded by the Earl of *Northampton*, took

400 Horſe, 200 of the Queen's Regiment Priſoners, and her Majeſty's Colours, the reſt fled to *Blechingdon*, thither he perſu'd 'em, and forc'd Col. *Windebank* to ſurrender on Articles. At *Bampton-buſh*, he ſurpriz'd another Party of the King's, took Sir *H. Vaughan*, Col. of a Regiment, two Lieutenant-Colonels, five Captains, eight Lieutenants, eight Enſigns, Dr. *Dunſe*, and 250 Soldiers; thence he march'd back to *Reading*, where Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was gathering his Army together to form the Siege of *Oxford*. But things were not yet ripe enough for that Expedition, ſo he ſent Lieutenant General *Cromwell* with 4000 Horſe to ſtreigthen the Place, and himſelf march'd to *Salisbury*, in his way to relieve *Taunton*. There the Parliaments orders met him, to Detach Collonel *Welden* and *Greaves* for that Service, and himſelf to join *Cromwell*, who was ſurrounded with the King's Forces on all ſides. *Goreing* had left the Siege of *Taunton*, and was come to *Burford*, where He, and Prince *Rupert*, made 7000 Horſe and Foot. Prince *Maurice* was expected with other Forces, to make up an Army ſtrong enough to beat *Cromwell* and Major General *Brown*, and get the King and the Artillery out of *Oxford*, where Provitions grow ſcarce. *January* 1645. The King, Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice*, with part of their Forces, march'd out of *Oxford* towards

towards *Cambden* in *Glouceſterſhire*, intending to go into *Herefordſhire* and *Worceſterſhire*, where the Royaliſts were ſtrongeſt, and cou'd Form an Army to take the Field *Goreing*, with the Foot, return'd to the Siege of *Taunton*, and *Cromwell* and *Brown* follow'd the King. The Parliament order'd Sir *Thomas Fairfax* to do the ſame. The King wheel'd about into *Worceſterſhire*, and *Cromwell* after him; the latter fearing he deſign'd to break in upon the aſſociated Counties, ſent 'em word to be on their Guard, and promis'd to aſſiſt them, he march'd thither as faſt as he cou'd, and poſted himſelf in the Iſle of *Ely*. When he arriv'd in the *Eaſtern* Counties, he got together 3000 Horſe and Foot: In the mean time the King took *Leiceſter* by Storm, after which he march'd to meet Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, who was drawn off from *Oxford*, to relieve *Leiceſter*, and *Cromwell* hearing the two Armies were in motion, haſten'd from the Iſle of *Ely* with 3000 Foot, and 1000 Horſe, and came up with Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, near *Brickhil* in *Buckinghamſhire*, the King then lying at *Holmby* Houſe in *Northamptonſhire*, which was afterwards his Priſon. The Officers of the Army wrote to the Parliament, that Collonel *Cromwell* might be Lieutenant General of the Horſe, after ſome Debate, the Houſe order'd, *That Sir* Thomas Fairfax *ſhou'd appoint* Cromwell

to Command the Horſe under him as Lieutenant General, if he thought fit. Oliver encreas'd daily in the favour of the People and the Army, and this made him envy'd by many. The King advancing to meet *Fairfax*, found him drawn up in a Fallow Field near *Naſeby*, about a Mile broad. The Armies were about 19000 Men each, not above 500 odds on either ſide. Prince *Rupert* charg'd firſt with his wonted Valour, and routed the three foremoſt Squadrons of the Parliament's Left Wing, *Ireton*, who Commanded it, was run thro' the Thigh with a Pike, and into the Face with a Halbert, his Horſe ſhot under him, and himſelf taken Priſoner, the Prince follow'd the Chaſe almoſt to *Naſeby* Town, and in his return ſummon'd the Train, who anſwer'd him with their Firelocks; he then viſited the Carriages, and his Men fell to plundering, which delay was the loſs of the Battle on the King's ſide, for *Cromwell* charging furiouſly on the King's Left Wing, beat them, forc'd them from the Main Body, and proſecuting his Advantage, quite broke them and their Reſerve. *Cromwell* having diſpers'd the King's Left Wing, fell in on the Royaliſts Foot, and Prince *Rupert* being then plundering the Parliaments Waggons, his Majeſty's Main Body, for want of Horſe, were entirely broken and routed, and the King left the Field and fled

to *Leiceſter*, Prince *Rupert* returning, ſaw the Royaliſts every where flying, and he himſelf made off after the King to *Leiceſter*; But his Majeſty found the purſuit ſo hot, that he left that Town, and poſted to *Litchfield*, and the Victory was compleat on the ſide of the Parliament. *Cromwell* won it here out of Prince *Rupert*'s Hand, as he had done at *Marſton Moore*. During the Fight an Officer of the Kings knowing *Cromwell*, advanc'd at the Head of his Troop to exchange a ſhotor two with him; *Oliver*, with equal Gallantry, met him, and after they had fir'd their Piſtols, the Officer, by an unlucky blow, cut the ſtrings that faſtned *Cromwell*'s Head-piece, and left his Head bare, the Cavalier was about to ſecond his ſtroke when *Oliver*'s Men Interpos'd and Repuls'd the Royaliſts.

The 16th of *June* the Parliament Voted, *That Lieutenant General* Cromwel *ſhou'd continue Lieutenant General of Horſe under Sir* Thomas Fairfax, *during the pleaſure of the Houſe, notwithſtanding the ſelf denying Ordinance, and ſhall receive the Pay of Lieutenant General for the time of the Eſtabliſhment of this Army.* The Lords made ſome Amendment to this Vote, and limited the time to 8 Months, to which the Commons, upon Debate, conſented. The King's Cauſe declin'd thro' the Kingdom, after the Rout

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at *Naſeby*, and he cou'd never bring an other Army into the Field. *Leiceſter* yeilded on Conditions, and then the Lieutenant General march'd into the Weſt, to relieve the brave Collonel *Blake*, who ſtill held out *Taunton* againſt *Goreing*, and all the King's *Weſtern* Armies. *Goreing* drew of on *Fairfax*'s Approach, this General overtook him at *Langport*, Attack'd him, and routed his Army; *Cromwell* purſu'd very cloſely, and took moſt of his Horſe, and the Royaliſts had no hopes to ſave *Bridgwater*, which, at that time, was the ſtrongeſt Place in the Weſt of *England*, and held out for the King till after the Battle of *Langport*. From *Langport* the General march'd to *Burrough*, and attack'd the Fort there, which made a mean Defence, tho' there were 140 Men in it; *Bridgwater* lyes 3 Miles below *Burrough*, on the ſame River *Parret* the General maſter'd *Eaſtover*, and that part of the Town, which lies on *Burrough* ſide of the River, as ſoon as he came before it the 15th of *July*. The Caſtle held out till the 22d the Garriſon having beaten back the Beſiegers at the firſt Storm, but fearing the ſecond, Surrender'd at Diſcretion. The Plate, Jewels and Money found here, was computed to amount to 100000 *l*. *Cromwell* was Detach'd from the Army when the place was taken, to diſperſe the Clubmen near *Shaftsbury*, he found 10000 of

em in a Body near that Town, Mr. *Newman* at the Head of them. He ſent to know the cauſe of their being in Arms; Mr. *Newman* came to him, and told him, *'Twas to have an Account of their Fellows taken ſome time before by Sir* Thomas Fairfax *at* Shaftsbury, *and to ſecure themſelves from Plunder. Cromwell* pacify'd them for the preſent, and they went every Man to his Home; marching two or three Miles farther, he met 2000 Club-men more, and ſent to them to depart peaceably; they fir'd on his Meſſenger, yet he again Commanded them to diſperſe quietly, and ſtill they ſhot at his Meſſengers, ſaying, *They expected the Lord* Hopton *to come to them.* Two of *Cromwell*'s Men were kill'd by them. He then order'd Mr. *Desborough* to Charge them, who kill'd about 20 of them; and took 300 Priſoners, with the Gentlemen that had ſet them upon this ridiculous Inſurrection, the Peaſants he diſmiſt to their Houſes, and ſent the Gentlemen to Priſon.

The Commons continu'd the Lieutenant-General four Months longer, *notwithſtanding the Self-denying Ordinance.* In *Auguſt Fairfax* beſieg'd *Briſtol*, and the Siege going on heavily, *Cromwell* advis'd to ſtorm it, which was done, and Prince *Rupert*, the Governor, fled to the Caſtle, which quickly ſurrendred on honourable Conditions. *Cromwell*

well then march'd to the *Devizes* in *Wiltſhire*, a ſtrong place which he ſummon'd, but the Governor, Sir *Charles Lloyd* only anſwer'd, *Win it, and wear it*; yet the Caſtle held out no more than three Days againſt *Cromwell*'s good Fortune. Having reduc'd this Place, he went forward to *Wincheſter*, enter'd the Town, and ſummon'd the Caſtle, which ſurrender'd as ſoon as the Garriſon heard his Guns. *Baſing* Houſe had been a thorn in the ſides of the Parliament's Garriſons around it, it had been beſieg'd by Sir *William Waller*, and afterwards by Col. *Norton*. This Place *Cromwell* reſolv'd to reduce, having clear'd *Somerſetſhire*, *Dorſetſhire*, *Wiltſhire* and *Hampſhire* of the Royaliſts. He planted his Batteries before it, and ſeiz'd ſome Poſts proper for an Aſſault, he commanded his Men to fall on, which they did with great Reſolution, and took the two out Houſes without any conſiderable Loſs. Col. *Pickering* ſtorm'd the new Houſe, paſt through, and got the Gate of the old Houſe, on which the Garriſon beat a Parley. The Parliament's Soldiers thought it too late, and carry'd it by Storm; they put many of the Royaliſts to the Sword, ſome of 'em Perſons of Quality, and ſent the Marq. of *Wincheſter*, Sir *Robert Peak*, and ſeveral Gentlemen up to the Parliament, and the Houſe continu'd *Cromwell* four Months longer, giving full Power to

Sir

Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and his Lieutenant-General to act as they thought fit without waiting for Orders from them. The latter having reduc'd *Longford* Houſe, march'd to join *Fairfax*, who was gone into *Devonſhire* and *Cornwall*, after *Goreing* and *Hopton*.

In *December* following, Propoſitions of Peace were debated, and ſeveral great Officers of the Parliament's ſide voted, to have Honours and Eſtates granted by the King. Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and General *Cromwell* were to be made Barons; the firſt to have 5000 *l.* a Year, the laſt 2500 *l.* The Earls of *Northumberland*, *Eſſex*, *Warwick* and *Pembroke*, to be Dukes; the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Mancheſter*, Marqueſſes; the Lord *Roberts*, Lord *Say*, Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, Lord *Wharton*, Lord *Howard*, Earls; Mr. *Hollis*, a Viſcount; Sir *William Waller*, a Baron, and to have 2500 *l.* a Year; Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, a Baron, and 2500 *l.* Sir *Hen. Vane*, a Baron; Sir *Philip Stapleton*, a Baron; and others to have Eſtates. The King wou'd not only have confirm'd theſe Votes, but have committed the Militia for 20 Years to Perſons appointed in truſt, moſt of whom were of the Parliament's Party, and Mr. *Oliver Cromwell* was one of the Commiſſioners nam'd by the King. Happy had it been for *England* had the Party

ty been contented with this; but the Heads of them had other deſigns on Foot, and Peace was the leaſt of their Thoughts. While Sir *Thomas Fairfax* lay before *Exeter*, *Cromwell*, who found him there, with his own Regiment of Horſe, and two of Foot, ſcowr'd the Country, fell upon three Regiments of *Hopton*'s Horſe at *Bovey*, took 400 of 'em, five Colours, and many Perſons of Quality. The Parliament was ſo pleas'd with his Care and Succeſs, that they refer'd it to a Committee to conſider how the 2500 *l.* a Year, formerly voted for him, might be ſecur'd to him, and order'd him a Preſent of 500 *l.* to buy him Horſes and Furniture, *as an earneſt Token of the Affections of the Houſe to him*; this Vote ſhew'd that the Independant and Sectarian Factions were Riſing. The Votes againſt a perſonal Treaty on the 30th of *December*, was the beginning of the Troubles which ruin'd the Royal Family. *Exeter* being taken, and the General marching to *Cornwall* after the Enemy. *Cromwell* and Sir *Hardreſs Waller* came to *London*, to adviſe about the Motion of the Army. The 23d of *April* 1646. *Oliver* ſat in the Houſe, and the Speaker (by Command) *gave him their hearty Thanks for his good Services*. While *Cromwell* was in *London*, the King eſcap'd out of *Oxford*, and went to the *Scots* then before

Newark.

Newark, *Cromwell* and his Party hated them for Favouring the Presbyterians, however they kept their hatred Secret, and carry'd on their Designs privately and cunningly. After the surrender of *Oxford*, the War being almost at an end, the General chose a select Council to consult of disposing the Army to several Places. *Cromwell*, *Ireton*, *Lambert*, *Fleetwood* and *Whitlock* were the Persons, who order'd their marching, part into Quarters, and part to reduce some Garrisons, that still held out for the King, and now the Parliament remembring their former Vote of 2500 *l.* a Year for their Lieutenant-General, resolv'd that it shou'd be rais'd out of the Estates of Papists in Arms, and voted to continue his Regiment of Horse, when the Army was to be disbanded, or sent to *Ireland*. The Troopers of eight Regiments of Horse presented a Petition to Major-General *Skippon* to excuse themselves for refusing that Service, and chose *Agitators* for each Regiment unknown to their Officers, or at least they seem'd not to know it. These Troopers were order'd to attend the House, and Lieutenant-General *Cromwell*, and others were commanded to go down to the Army, and acquaint them that their Arrears shou'd be paid before they were disbanded, and an Ordinance of Indemnity past. Mr. *Hollis*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Mr. *Glyn*, and

the Presbyterian Party press'd the Business of disbanding. The Independants, and the Sectarians from thence took occasion to hold a strict Correspondence with *Cromwell*, who entertain'd them with reciprocal Affection, and highly courted them, and 'twas thought he was a very improper Person to be sent down to dispose the Army to disband quietly, which he never intended they shou'd do; but rather privately countenanc'd the *Agitators*. For whom *Ireton* that had been bred a Lawyer, drew all their Petitions and Remonstrances. They charg'd Mr. *Hollis*, and 10 other Members with high Treason, and desir'd the House might *be Purg'd*. The House was censur'd for complying with a mutinous Army, and their Resolutions to impeach their Members were call'd, *Cow Votes*, tho' others approv'd them as *Prudent to avoid Blood*: *Cromwell*'s Faction having the Majority, he carry'd his Business with great Subtilty, and Insensibly mounted higher towards the Supream height which he at last arriv'd to. Those that were impeach'd were his Enemies, and these first Insolencies of the Army were encourag'd by Collonel *Ireton*, his Son-in-Law. The House sent Commissioners to them to Treat with them on their daily Demands, and the Lord General appointed *Cromwell*, *Ireton*, *Fleetwood*, *Rainsborough*, *Harrison*, *Waller*, *Rich*, *Lambert* and *Hammond*, to adjust Matters with the Members. In the mean time, the Parliament were

were insulted by the Rabble at *London*, in favour of the impeach'd Members, and several of the Independant Party forc'd to leave the House, and fly to the Army. The Speaker of both Houses, the Earls of *Warwick* and *Manchester*, with a great Part of the Lords and Commons, sent to the General to acquaint him, *That they had quitted the Parliament, for that there was no free Sitting for them*, and they cast themselves into his Protection. Major-General *Massey*, Sir *William Waller*, and Lieutenant-General *Poins* all Presbyterians, listed the City Prentices, and pretended to justifie their new Votes for the King's coming to *London*, &c. by Arms. Against these the General and Army advanc'd, and with them brought the Fugitive Members in Triumph to *London*, where they undid all that had been done in their Absence, and had the King remov'd to *Hampton-Court*: The *Scots* deliver'd up his Majesty on the Payment of 400000 *l.* their Arrears.

He had sometime before been lodg'd at *Holmby* House in *Northamptonshire*, whence *Joyce* brought him by force to the Army, and here *Oliver* carry'd himself so Civily, and made the King such fair Offers, that his Majesty did not care to leave them. *Cromwell* propos'd that the Army shou'd settle him again on his Throne, if he wou'd assent to their Terms lower than those of the Parliament. *Oliver* by a private Article

was to be made Earl of *Essex*, and Knight of the Garter; and his eldest Son one of the Bed-Chamber to the Prince; and his Son-in-Law, *Ireton*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*. But when *Cromwell* saw his Faction triumph'd over the Presbyterians, he forgot all his fair Promises to his Majesty; his Chaplains had no more the Liberty of Officiating Divine Service, and *Oliver* carry'd it very roughly towards him. Several Rumors were Industriously spread of Designs against his Life, and even *Whally*, one of his Keepers, and *Oliver*'s Creature, advis'd his Majesty to fly. *Cromwell* knowing that wou'd provoke the Parliament to consent to the hard measure he was contriving to deal to him. *Hammond*, a Rigid Independant, Governor of the *Isle of Wight*, was the Person his Majesty chose for his Protector, to him he fled, and there we must a while leave him.

The Lieutenant-General by Caressing the Officers, procuring Posts for some, promising others, and Solliciting zealously the Business of the Army in Parliament, had brought them entirely over to his Interest, except the Levelers, and these at the Rendezvous at *Ware* indeavouring to Mutiny, and raise Disturbances, were commanded to tear their Seditious Papers, Col. *Eyre*, Major *Scot*, and Capt. *Bray* were committed to Custody, and one of *Lilburn*'s Regiment, the most Mutinous of the whole Army, was shot to Death, the rest submitted, and ac-

acknowledg'd their Error. *Cromwell* was very active to ſuppreſs theſe ſtirs, being himſelf as much againſt Levelling as any of the Royaliſts, for Reaſons which will appear in the Sequel of his Hiſtory. The mutinous Officers and Soldiers were receiv'd again into *Cromwell*'s Favour, and on this Reconciliation a Faſt was kept by the Council of War, where the Lieutenant-General and *Ireton* entertain'd the reſt with many *Edifying* Prayers of conſiderable Length according to his Cuſtom in thoſe Caſes. When the Votes for Non-Addreſſes to the King were in debate, *Oliver* then in the Houſe, ſpoke thus, *'Tis now expected by the good People of the Nation, and the Army, that the Houſe wou'd come to ſome Reſolution and Settlement, as the Price of all the Blood and Treaſure, that have been expended in the War, and that they will not now leave them to the Expectation of any good from a Man, whoſe Heart God has harden'd; for if they do,* (laying his Hand on his Sword) *They ſhall be forc'd to look for their Preſervation ſome other way.* This Speech hector'd the Houſe out of thoſe Votes, which made way for the King's Murder, and the Army took upon them ſo much, that the General had more Buſineſs than the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons; More Petitions were Addreſs'd to him from *London*, and other Places, than to Mr. *Lenthall*. And *Fairfax* to eaſe himſelf,

appointed *Cromwell*, *Ireton* and *Fleetwood*, to met every Day at *Whitehall* to receive Petitions, and assist him in dispatching the Affairs of the Army.

Cromwell was also made one of the Committee of Safety, which sat at *Derby* House, and were to take care of Suppressing Tumults and Insurrections, which the Parliament were every day terrify'd with. *Glemham* and *Langdale* were risen in the *North*, and had seiz'd *Berwick* and *Carlisle* in *May* 1648. *Poyer*, *Langhorn* and *Powel*, 3 of their own Colonels, revolted from them in *Wales*, where they had got together 8000 Men, against whom the Lieutenant General *Cromwell* was order'd to march with 2 Regiments of Horse, and 3 of Foot, and to encourage him his 2500 *l.* a Year was setled upon him, out of the Earl of *Worcester*'s Estate. The *Welch* were routed at St. *Fagon* by Colonel *Horton*, before *Cromwell*'s Arrival, he met with some small opposition at *Chepstow*, and then he march'd towards *Pembrokeshire*, where *Langhorn*, *Poyer* and *Powel*, who escap'd at the rout, continu'd still in Arms. They got into *Pembroke*, and resolv'd to defend it, having with them 300 Horse and Foot, while the *Welch* were rising, *Goreing* rose in *Kent*, got over into *Essex*, and seiz'd *Colchester*. The *Scots*, under Duke *Hamilton*, entred *England*, and a new War threatn'd the Kingdom. The Royallists foreseeing the wicked designs

ſigns of the Sectarian Faction, reſolv'd to have one puſh for it, and prevent them, or periſh, *Pembroke* made a brave Defence, till the Soldiers hearkning to *Cromwell*'s Offers of honourable Terms, deliver'd up *Langhorn*, *Poyer* and *Powel* with the Town into his hands, thence he march'd into *Lancaſhire*, and join'd Major General *Lambert*, who attended the motion of the *Scotch* Army; they cou'd not both of 'em make above 9000 Men, and *Hamilton* had twice as many, yet *Cromwell* was poſitive for fighting, and at *Preſton* his Forlorn Engaging the *Scots* firſt with 200Horſe, he himſelf led up the main Body, and after a diſpute of 4 Hours, put them to flight, as is at large related in the Duke of *Hamilton*'s Life. After this Victory he march'd towards *Berwick*, in purſuit of *Monroe*, who hearing of *Hamilton*'s Defeat, was retiring with 6000 Men, which were deſign'd to join the *Scots* Army. *Cromwell* ſent to the Council at *Edinburgh* to recal *Monroe*, and the Forces with him, out of *England*, and to Surrender *Berwick*. *Argyle* gave him to underſtand, he, and his Party, diſapprov'd of *Hamilton*'s Proceedings, and deſir'd his aſſiſtance againſt *Monroe* and the Enemy. *Cromwell* on this entred *Scotland*, and the Parliament approv'd of it, in his march he kept his Men to ſtrict Diſcipline, and the Terror of his approaching, caus'd an agree-

ment to be made between *Lanerick* and *Argyle*'s Factions, *That* Carlile *and* Berwick *shou'd be Surrender'd to the* Engliſh, *a Parliament call'd in* Scotland, *and none to be in it that were in the Engagement againſt* England, which was done, and the Chancellor of *Scotland* wrote a Letter of Thanks to *Cromwell*, for the *many Civilities and kind Reſpects he had ſhow'd to that Kingdom, and acknowledg'd that his Preſence had prevented new Troubles.* At *Edinburgh* he was receiv'd with great Ceremony, where he demanded, *That none who had been in Action in that wicked Engagement and Invaſion, might henceforward be employ'd in any publick place of Truſt*, to which the Committee of Eſtates gave a ſatisfactory Anſwer. He was Viſited by the Commiſſioners of the *Kirk*, the Lord *Provoſt*, and magnificently treated by the E. of *Argyle*, all his Charges and his Guards were paid by the Publick, and many of the Nobility and Gentry waited on him in his return. Having ſetled matters in the *North*, and demoliſh'd the Garriſons that were not thought proper to be maintain'd, he came to *London*, in his way he ſtop'd at St. *Albans*, the Head Quarters of the Army, and was wellcom'd with ſhouts of Joy by the Soldiers, and immediately poſted away to the Parliament, where his Party wanted him. For the *Presbyterian*'s Faction increas'd by the City of *London*'s and Petitions from other Parts

of

of *England*, for a perſonal Treaty at the *Iſle of Wight*, not only ſent Commiſſioners thither, but Voted the 5th of *Decemb.* that his Majeſty's Conceſſions are ſufficient Grounds for ſettling the Peace of the Kingdom.

This allarm'd *Cromwell*, and the Council of Officers, who preſently diſpatch'd Colonel *Ewers* to take the King from Colonel *Hammond*, and Confine him in *Hurſt* Caſtle without Conſent of Parliament; but the Army did not conſider their Maſters pleaſure lately, and wou'd have no Pow'r Superior to their own. Col. *Rich* and Col. *Pride*'s Regiments were ſet to Guard the Houſe, more for their Terror than their Safety. *Pride* drew up ſome Companies of Foot in the Court of *Requeſts*, on the Stairs, and in the Lobby of the Houſe, and ſtood himſelf with a Paper of Names in his hand, and one of the Door-keepers, and ſometimes the Lord *Grey* of *Grooby* inform'd him who the Members were that ſhou'd be Excluded, whom he ſeiz'd on, and ſent 'em away with Soldiers to the Queen's Court, and Court of *Wards*, by Special Order from the General and Council of the Army. Then Colonel *Axtell* and Colonel *Whaley* preſented the Houſe with the Deſires of the Army, for Trying the Impeach'd Members, and all others concern'd in Inviting in the *Scots*, and the Lord General drew nearer *London* with his Forces, on which the Sitting

ting Members renew'd their Votes of Non-Addreſſes, and *Cromwel* to throw off the Scandal of theſe Irregularities, deſir'd Sir *Thomas Widdrington* and Mr. *Whitlock* to meet him, where he propos'd to them to Draw up ſome Heads of Propoſitions for the Settlement of the Kingdom; while on the other ſide his Son-in-law and Confident *Ireton* was ſetting the Army on demanding Juſtice on the Great *Delinquent*, and *getting* Petitions to the ſame purpoſe from ſeveral parts of the Kingdom. The King's Tryal was meant by theſe forc'd Petitions, and accordingly he was brought to *Wincheſter*, *Windſor* and *London*, to be Try'd by a Commiſſion granted to 150 Perſons, call'd, a *High Court of Juſtice*, of whom *Oliver* was the Foremoſt, and moſt active Member. This infamous Tryal is ſo largely deſcrib'd by *Ruſhworth* and *Dugdale* that we ſhall ſay no more of it, but that *Cromwell* was one of thoſe who ſtood up heartily to give his Conſent to his Majeſty's Sentence and Murder, which he knew was the only Obſtacle to his ambitious Deſigns. His Majeſty was Beheaded the 30th. of *January* 1648, and the 6th. of *February* the Lords, for refuſing to Conſent to the King's Tryal, were Voted by the Commons *Uſeleſs and Dangerous*, and the Houſe of Peers were Aboliſh'd: So that the *Rump* was in Poſſeſſion of the Sovereign Power,

to

to hold it as long as *Oliver* thought fit, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

The 7th of *February* a Council of State was Appointed, *Cromwell*'s Name one of the firſt in the Roll. He brought over 19 of the *Scots* Committee of Eſtates to approve of the King's Death; 22 refus'd it. He was very exact in his Diſcipline, and to try his Soldiers one Night, as he was going home late with *Ireton*, his Coach was ſtopp'd by the Guards, who Examin'd them, and they told their Names; but the Captain would not believe them, and threaten'd to carry them to the Court of Guard. At this *Ireton* grew angry, but *Cromwell* was Chearful with the Soldiers, gave them 20 Shillings to Drink, and commended their Care. The Officer, and his Men, confeſs'd afterwards they knew both *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, and were more ſtrict with them than with others, that they might ſee they did their Duty which, they believ'd, their Generals came to obſerve. The 15th. of *March*, *Cromwell* was Nominated Lord General of *Ireland*, however 'twas 15 Days before he wou'd give his Anſwer that he Accepted of that Command. Before he went thither he gave a ſmall Inſtance of his Arbitrary and Aſpiring Temper: For two Men meaſuring ſome Ground in *Windſor* Forreſt, were ask'd by what Authority they did it, and they produc'd a Warrant from

Cromwell,

Cromwell, desiring all Officers of the Forrest, Soldiers, and others, to permit these Men, *to set out some Land, in regard there was no Justice in Eyre*. This was look'd on as taking too much upon him, and the Men were forbidden to make any Division of the Land till farther Orders.

The 31*st*. of *March* a Report was made from the Council of State to the Parliament, that Lieutenant General *Cromwell* accepted of the Service for *Ireland*, *and wou'd endeavour, to the utmost of his Power, with God's assistance, to carry on the Work against the Rebels, and all that Adhere to them*, on which the House Confirm'd him in his Command. Colonel *Scroop*'s Regiment, who was to go with him, turn'd of their Officers, and march'd, 12 Troops, from their Quarters at *Salisbury* towards *Burford* in *Oxfordshire*, in hopes to join those of *Ireton*, *Harrisons* and *Skippon*'s Regiments, all Levellers, and a Party under one *Thompson* then lying near *Banbury*. The Lord General *Fairfax* and *Cromwell* having Information of this Revolt at their Head Quarters at *Acton* in *Middlesex*, hastned away after them, and *Cromwell* posting 40 Miles in one day, overtook 'em near *Abington*, where, to save the Effusion of Blood, he offer'd to treat with 'em, and agreed, *That till Satisfaction were given, neither Parties might come within* 10 *Miles of each other*. On this agreement the Level-

Levellers march'd to *Burford*, and reſted in great ſecurity till about Midnight, Col. *Reynolds* beat up their Quarters, took 400 of 'em Priſoners, and all their Horſes, and *Thompſon* being kill'd fighting bravely in *Wellingborough Wood*; thus ended this Inſurrection, after which, the Lord General *Fairfax*, and Lieutenant General *Cromwell* went to *Oxford*, where they were the 19th of *May* Created Doctors of the Civil Law, and Sr. *Hardreſs Waller*, Collonel *Harriſon*, Collonel *Ingoldsby*, Collonel *Hewſon*, Collonel *Okey*, Collonel *Groſvenour*, Collonel *Goff*, Collonel *Joice*, Collonel *Cobbet*, *John Ruſhworth*, Eſq; and other Officers and Gentlemen were Created Maſters of Art. From *Oxford* the Generals went to *London*, and *Cromwell* had again the Thanks of the Houſe. The 7th. of *June*, 1649. the Parliament, the Lord Generals *Fairfax* and *Cromwell* the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, the Judges and other Great Officers and Magiſtrates din'd at *Guildhall* with the Lord Mayor, *Cromwell* took his place next the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal. The City preſented him with 300 *l.* in Plate, and 200 Broad Pieces beſides. The Marquiſs of *Ormond* and the Royaliſts in *Ireland*, growing ſtronger thro' the Parliaments delay, had beſieg'd *Dublin*, and *Cromwell* on news of it, prepar'd to be going. On the day fix'd 3 Miniſters pray'd ſome time for his ſucceſs, and *Cromwell*, made alſo Lord

Lieu-

Lieutenant of *Ireland*, expounded ſeveral Texts of Scripture, ſo did Coll. *Goff*, and Coll. *Harriſon*, and they are the laſt General Officers that ever gave themſelves ſo much trouble, or cou'd get any body to hear them. *July* the 10th *Cromwell* ſet forward from *London* for *Briſtol*, attended by many Members of Parliament and Council of State, and a Life Guard, of 80 Horſe, who had lately been Officers. At *Brentford* the Parliament Man, and the Councellors of State, took their leaves of him, and thence he poſted to *Briſtol*, where the Lord Lieutenant was nobly Entertain'd, and while he lay there Wind-bound the Country came in great Multitudes to ſee him; 12000 Men had been before Shipt, and were to be Shipt in ſeveral Ports of *England* for *Ireland*, who were all to rendezvouſe at *Milford Haven*, and on his writing to the Houſe, that he wanted Money, 100000 *l.* was order'd to be ſpeedily ſent him. The 12th of *Auguſt* the Lord Lieutenant and *Ireton* Embark'd at *Milford Haven* with a great Fleet, and fine Army for *Ireland*, and arriv'd at *Dublin* the 19th, where he was receiv'd with extraordinary Joy and Honour, the Guns round the City and Caſtle Saluted him, at his Landing a great Concourſe of People met to ſee him. To whom he made a grateful Speech with his Hat in his Hand, and they ſhouting, anſwer'd, *They wou'd all live and*

dye

dye with him. *Jones* and *Reynolds* had driven the Lord *Ormond* from before that City, and as ſoon as the Men had a little refreſh'd themſelves, the Lord Lieutenant march'd forth out of *Dublin* with 12000 Horſe and Foot, to attack *Drogheda*, which the Lord *Ormond* had Victuall'd for 6 Months, and Sir *Edward Aſhton*, formerly Governor of *Reading* for the King, had a Garriſon of 2000 *Iriſh* Foot, and two Troops of Horſe, in the place. *Cromwell* order'd his Fleet, Commanded by Sir *George Aſcough*, to ſtop any ſupplies coming to 'em by Sea, and form'd the Siege, having alſo detach'd 1000 Foot, and 500 Horſe to join Sir *Charles Coot* in the North of *Ireland.* The Foot were to go by Sea, and the Horſe by Land, who both ſafely arriv'd at *Derry* to the relief of that brave Gentleman. The Lord Lieutenant, that the People might not be terrify'd at his approach, put forth a Proclamation, *That none of them ſhou'd be injur'd, behaving themſelves peaceably, and bringing in their Proviſions.* Sir *Thomas Armſtrong* with 200 Horſe ſally'd out of *Tredah* on the General's Quarters, and was ſo warmly receiv'd that he wou'd have retreated, but *Cromwell* cut off his Retreat, and every one of his Men, but Sir *Thomas* himſelf was taken. After he had batter'd the Town with his Guns, he prepar'd for a Storm the 25th of *September*, the Garriſon made a ſtout Reſiſtance,

ance, and 1000 of *Cromwell*'s Men having enter'd the Place, were forc'd out again by the Enemy. They rally'd and enter'd again, and beat the *Iriſh* from their Poſts; having ſlain Col. *Wall* in the breach, his Men every where gave Ground, and the reſt follow'd their Example. *Cromwell* order'd all of them to be put to the Sword, *Aſhton*, the Governor, withdrew into the Caſtle, where the *Engliſh* entring with the *Iriſh*, kill'd both him and his Followers. Sir *Edmond Veiney*, Col. *Warren*, Col. *Fleming*, Col. *Brin*, Col. *Finglaſs*, and Major *Tempeſt* with many more Gentlemen and Officers, and above 3000 Soldiers periſh'd, and ſcarce 70 of the *Engliſh*. This Place when 'twas defended by the Proteſtants againſt the *Iriſh* Papiſts held out three Years, which did not ſtand out a Week againſt *Oliver*'s Fortune and Valour; from thence *Cromwell* march'd towards *Wexford*, and took in ſeveral Garriſons in his way, Sir *Edmund Butler* with 500 Men got into the Town, the Earl of *Caſtlehaven* came alſo within ſight of it, and promis'd the Governor, *Stafford*, to relieve him. The Garriſon incourag'd with theſe Hopes and Supplies, defy'd *Cromwell*'s Attacks; but as ſoon as the *Engliſh* had planted their Batteries againſt the Caſtle, the Governor ſurrender'd it, and *Cromwell*'s Men while the Town was in a fright,

fright, preſently ſcal'd the Walls, enter'd the Place, cut all whom they found in Arms to pieces; 2000 were kill'd in the Storm with little loſs to the *Engliſh*. From *Wexford* the General march'd to *Roſs*, a Sea Port Town, ſcituate on the River *Barrow*, which Major-General *Taaf* ſurrender'd on Summons, and 600 of his Garriſon being Proteſtants join'd with *Cromwell*. *Bandon*, *Toughhall*, *Cork*, *Kinſale*, and all the Towns in *Munſter* declar'd for the Parliament. The Lord of *Ormond* broke up with his Army in the Night from *Duncannon*, and retreated into *Kilkenny*, whither *Oliver* purſu'd him. In his way he took *Emſtrong*, which was abandon'd by the Garriſon; then he advanc'd to St. *Thomas* Town where the Enemy had broken the Bridge, and the River *Barrow* was at that time not fordable, the Floods being out, the Lord *Ormond* lay on the other ſide of the River with the King's Army. *Cromwell* cou'd not come at him to fight, nor proceed in his deſign for *Kilkenny*, ſo he turn'd back, took *Knocktofer* Caſtle, *Carrick*, and beſieg'd *Waterford*. While his Men prepar'd their Batteries, he himſelf with ſome Horſe and Dragoons march'd to *Paſſage* Town, ſix Miles below the City. The Dragoons fell to ſtorming, fir'd the Gate, and the Enemy cry'd out for Quarter. *Oliver* gave them their Lives, and they gave up the Fort; of great Advantage to

the *Engliſh*. The Seaſon being Wet, and the Soldiers ſickly, he drew off his Men from *Waterford*. The Garriſon was increas'd with 2000 *French*, whom they had receiv'd into the Town, which wou'd have made it a Seige of length, and the Weather did not permit his Troops to ſtay in their Camp. The 12th. of *January* the Houſe order'd the Speaker to write to *Cromwell, to come for* England, *and conſult about Supplies of Men, Money and Ammunition, and for the Settling of the Civil Government*. The Parliament reſenting the late Invaſion of the *Scots*, their Proclaiming the King, and their Inſolencies to the *Engliſh*, began privately to think of Revenging theſe Affronts by Arms, and *Cromwell* was thought the moſt proper Perſon for that Service, which they knew the Lord *Fairfax*, a Presbyterian, wou'd not undertake againſt his Brethren of the Kirk of *Scotland*. In *February*, *Oliver* march'd out of his Quarters at *Youghall*, with 1000 Horſe, and as many Foot, for *Kilkenny*, and took in ſeveral Forts in that County, as the Caſtle of *Kilkenny*, *Clogher*, *Roghill* Caſtle and *Fethard*, having alſo maſter'd the whole County of *Tipperary*, he march'd towards *Limerick*. The Enemy had burnt and waſted the Country about it, and driven off the Cattle, ſo that they had not Forrage for their own Army, this prevented *Cromwell*'s beſieging *Limerick*. He therefore

fore Sat down before *Clonmel*, wherein were 120 Horſe and 2000 Foot, under Major General *Hugh Oncal*, the Governor. The *Engliſh* were not long making a Breach with their Cannon in the Walls, at which they enter'd, but were repuls'd by the Garriſon. This Place made the beſt Defence of any in *Ireland*, it held out 6 Weeks, and beat off the *Engliſh* in ſeveral Storms. In the laſt, the Garriſon was ſo weakned, that they quitted the Town in the Night, and *Cromwell* took poſſeſſion of it. While the Siege continu'd other Parties of the Army reduc'd *Covan*, *Cauntnell* Caſtle, *Ballyſhannon*, and the ſtrong Town of *Kilkenny*. Two *Iriſh* Biſhops of *Roſs* and *Clogher* were routed by the Lord *Broghill*, and hang'd as they deſerv'd, the former of them having declar'd, *That the beſt way to ſecure the* Engliſh *was to Cut their Throats*. Sir *Charles Coot*, in the North of *Ireland*, Subdu'd all the Parliament's Enemies, and thro' the whole Kingdom, only *Limerick* and *Waterford* held out againſt the State. This Realm being thus brought under the Parliament's Obedience, their Lieutenant made General *Ireton* his Deputy, and Embark'd for *England*.

He arriv'd at *Briſtol* the latter end of *May* 1650, and was welcom'd with the loud Acclamations of the People, the Diſcharge of the Cannon in the Caſtle, and the Ships in the Harbour. He made a very ſhort ſtay

there, longing to be at *London*. Many Members of Parliament, and Officers of the Army, met him on *Hounſlow Heath*; he was Saluted by the great Guns at *Hyde Park*, and a Volley of Shot from Collonel *Barkſtead*'s Regiment. He Lodg'd at *Whitehall*, and was viſited by moſt of the Perſons of Quality about Town, and 2 or 3 days after his arrival, he return'd the Lord General *Fairfax*'s Viſit, and the Lord Mayor's and Aldermen of *London*, who had been to Compliment him on his Succeſſes in *Ireland*: The 4th of *June* he ſat in the Houſe, and *had their hearty Thanks for his great and faithful Services* in that Kingdom. The 12th. of *June* the Army was order'd to march Northward, and *Fairfax* ſcrupling the Command as was expected, *Cromwell*, *Lambert*, *Harriſon*, *St. John* and *Whitlock*, were appointed, by the Houſe, to Confer with him, and remove his Scruples; none were ſo earneſt with him to continue his Commiſſion as *Cromwell*, tho' none wiſh'd more heartily that he wou'd refuſe it; which he did, and on the 26th. an Act paſs'd to Conſtitute *Oliver Cromwell* Eſq; *Captain General in Chief of all the Forces rais'd, and to be rais'd, by the Authority of Parliament, within the Common Wealth of* England. While the General ſtaid in *London*, his time was almoſt wholly taken up in Ceremonies and Congratulations, on his Acceſſion to this High Office,

which

which prepar'd his way to the Protectorate. The 19th. of *July* he arriv'd at *Durham*, marching 24 Miles a day, from thence he came to *Newcaſtle*, and was Entertain'd with much Pomp by Sir *Arthur Haſlerigge*, the Governor. From *Newcaſtle* he ſent the *Rumps* Declaration to their Brethren in *Scotland*, another Copy to the *Scots* General, another to the Parliament, and a 4th. to the Committee of Eſtates. The Mayor of *Newcaſtle* treated him, and having refreſh'd his Men he proceeded to *Berwick*. King *Charles* the Second lay with an Army at *Haddington*, and one of theſe Declarations was brought to him there, as he was at Dinner in his Tent. The *Scots* General diſpatch'd a Trumpeter with a Declaration in Anſwer to *Cromwell*'s, which was rather a Defyance than an Anſwer.

'Twas the latter end of *July* before he Enter'd *Scotland*; juſt as he came to the Borders he made a Speech to the Soldiers, Exhorting them to do their Duty. The Army reply'd with Shouts, and joyfully march'd into the Enemies Country. He put forth a Proclamation againſt Plundering and Violence, for the Terror of *Iredah* had frighted the *Scots* from their Houſes. In the firſt Town he came to, not a Man, Woman nor Child, that cou'd get off, was left. On *Hagerſton Moor* he muſter'd his Army, the 25th. of *July* 6500 Horſe, and 11000

Foot effective, and thence march'd to *Haddington*, within 12 Miles of *Edinburgh*; he Encamp'd in the very place where the King had lain with his Forces, the *Scots* being retir'd on *Cromwell*'s approach, to wait the coming up of the *Highlanders*. Next day hearing the *Scots* wou'd be at *Gladſmeer*, he endeavour'd to poſſeſs himſelf of that Plain before them, ſo he detach'd a Party to ſeize the Poſts, but no conſiderable Body of the Enemy appear'd; Major General *Lambert* and Coll. *Whalley*, with 1400 Horſe, fac'd *Edinburgh* it ſelf, and Major *Haynes* came within half a Mile of the *Scots* Trenches. Then the General drew up his whole Army before *Edinburgh*, and drove the *Scots* from King *Arthur*'s Hill a Mile from the City. He poſſeſs'd himſelf of a Church, between *Leith* and *Edinburgh*, and of ſome Houſes within a quarter of a Mile of the Enemies Camp, yet nothing cou'd draw them out. He intended to have attack'd them, but the Rains fell ſo violently that he was forc'd to draw off his Men to *Muſſelborough*. The *Scots* fell upon his Rear, and put them into ſome Confuſion; but *Lambert* and *Whalley* coming to their Aſſiſtance, drove the Enemy back to their Trenches. The next Morning Major General *Straughan* drew out 1500 Horſe rais'd by the *Kirk*, arm'd with Launces, Piſtols, and Swords, who fell in with a Party of the

the *Engliſh* about 3 a-clock, Crying, *give no Quarter, but kill all.* Theſe beat the Guards, and put a Regiment of Horſe into Diſorder, but the *Engliſh* enrag'd with the Cruelty of the *Kirkmen*, charg'd them ſo furiouſly, that they kill'd M. G. *Mongomery*, and 300 *Scots*, took as many, following the reſt almoſt to the Gates of *Edinburgh*. *Cromwell* generouſly gave the Priſoners their Liberty, and ſent the chief of 'em to *Edinburgh* in his own Coach. The *Scots* made a great Detachment of Horſe, which the General believing they intended for *England*, order'd a like number to obſerve their motion. The Army began to want Proviſions, and return'd to *Dunbar*, to take in their Supplies which were brought 'em thither by the Fleet, and then return'd towards *Edinburgh*, march'd in ſight of the Town for 2 or 3 Miles together, and encamp'd on *Pencland* Hills, within view of the City, which ſtreightned it for Proviſions. The King's Army being in motion, *Cromwell* left his Camp, and came within a Mile of the *Scots* Army, both march'd in ſight of each other, having nothing between 'em, but a great Bog, to hinder their Engagement. They Cannonaded one another, and *Cromwell* drew forth a forlorn to charge them, Which he led in Perſon. Coming near the Enemy, one of them fir'd at him with a Carbine, yet ſo timerouſly, that the General

obſerving it, call'd out, and told him; *If he had been one of his Soldiers, he wou'd have Caſhier'd him, for firing at that diſtance.* The *Scotsman* told General *Leſley* of it, and *Leſley* ſaid, *I know 'twas* Cromwell. The King wou'd have, himſelf, ſally'd out on the *Engliſh*; but *Leſley* ſaid if he did, he wou'd lay down his Commiſſion, and the *Kirk* were ſo fearful of his Majeſty, that they never heartily engag'd in his Quarrel. The 28th of *Auguſt*, *Cromwell* march'd to his old Quarters on *Pencland* Hills, thence to *Muſſelborough* to recruit, and having quitted his Garriſons he return'd to *Hadington*. The *Scots* giving out, that the Enemy fled. They arriv'd at *Haddington* the 31ſt of *Auguſt*, and the firſt of *September* march'd to *Dunbar*. The *Scots* following them cloſe in the Rear the ſecond of *September*, the General drew out the Army in a Field near *Dunbar*. The *Scots* flank'd 'em on the Hills on the right Hand, where they lay all Night. The *Engliſh* cou'd not, without great diſadvantage, get up the Hill to engage them, and the *Scots* wou'd not come down to the *Engliſh*.

Their whole Army conſiſted of 28 Regiments of Foot, and 10 Regiments of Horſe and Dragoons in all 27000. The *Engliſh* were not at moſt above 12000, the ſecond of *September* the *Scots* apprehending the flight of the *Engliſh*, drew down part of their Army

Army, and *Cromwell* drew his Men up in Batallia, in which poſture they ſtood all day, a Ditch was between both Armies, and whoever attempted to paſs, gave their Enemies the advantage, *Oliver* order'd his Men at Night to get as cloſe to the Ditch as poſſible, and plac'd his Field Pieces before every Regiment. The 3d of *September* in the Morning before day he commanded *Lambert*, *Whaley* and *Lilburn*, with 3 Regiments of Horſe, and two of Foot, to ſeize a Paſs on the Road between *Dunbar* and *Berwick*, which open'd a way to the Enemy, or to retreat homewards. This Paſs the *Scots* defended, and the Fight began; after an hot Diſpute the *Engliſh* poſſeſt themſelves of the Paſs, and the Right Wing of the *Scots* Horſe coming down the Hill, charg'd the *Engliſh* very warmly, and were as gallantly receiv'd. A Brigade of Foot advancing to ſuſtain the *Engliſh* Cavalry, the *Scots* Horſe fled before 6 in the Morning; Their Foot when the Horſe left 'em, threw down their Arms, and ran for't, and the *Scots* left Wing follow'd the Example of the Right. The *Engliſh* purſu'd 'em beyond *Haddington*, and loſt only 40 Men in the Engagement, 4000 *Scots* were kill'd in the Battle and the Chaſe, and 10000 Priſoners taken, among theſe, the Lord *Libberton*, and Lieutenant General Sir *James Lunſdain*, Sir *William Douglas*, the Lord *Grandiſon*, Sir *Jer. Brown*, Adjutan

tant General *Pickerton*, the Lord *Cranſton*, Colonel *Gourdon*, 12 Lieutenant Colonels, 6 Majors, and 37 Captains, 200 Inferior Officers, 200 Colours, Bag, Baggage and Ordnance, and the Purſe in which the Great Seal of *Scotland* us'd to be carry'd. This, and the Colours were ſent up to *London*, as Trophies of *Cromwell*'s Victory. General *Leſley* eſcap'd by flight, and brought the firſt News of the Defeat to *Edinburgh*, which City and *Leith* open'd their Gates to the Conqueror, who ſtay'd there a few Days, and was preſented with Letters from the *Kirk*, telling him: *They reſerv'd themſelves for better times, and to wait upon him, who had hidden his Face for a while from the Sons of* Jacob, which he anſwer'd in a Stile agreeable to their own. For no Man was more Maſter of that affected way of Writing, nor us'd it to better purpoſe than himſelf.

To fortifie him againſt their Remonſtrances, *Caryl* and *Owen*, two Independant Miniſters, were order'd by the Parliament to attend the General in *Scotland*. *Cromwell* went to *Leith*, Garriſon'd it, and then return'd to *Edinburgh* to reduce the Caſtle, which held out four Months after the Battel of *Dunbar*. The General perceiving the Siege, wou'd be of ſome length, march'd to *Glaskow*, the King lying then at St. *Johnſtons*, where the *Scots* treated him ſo ill, that he

he reſolv'd to leave 'em, and accordingly pretending to take the Air, he rode off, accompany'd only by the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Lord *Seaforth*; but the *Scots* finding the Enemy was ſo near 'em, ſent to entreat him to return, which he did on their Promiſing to behave themſelves better. The Court remov'd to *Sterling*, where the King ſet up his Standard, having for the Reputation of his Cauſe been Crown'd at *Scone*. *Lambert* and *Monk* were order'd to march Northward againſt the King, and *Cromwell* again return'd to *Edinburgh*, to take Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle, which was ſurrender'd in *December*, and by his Intrigues he brought off Major-General *Straughan*, and Col. *Ker*, to the *Engliſh* Intereſt. The Earl of *Pembroke*, Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, dying, while the General was at *Edinburgh*, the Univerſity unanimouſly choſe *Cromwell* to be their Chancellor, which Office he accepted off, by his Letterof the 4th *February*, and when 'twas read in the Convocation, the Members *made the Houſe reſound with their chearful Acclamations.* The ſame Month he was Conſtituted one of the Councel of State, for the Year 1651. At *Edenburgh* he fell ſick, and the Parliament preſently order'd Dr. *Wright*, and the famous Dr. *Bates*, two eminent Phyſitians to go to *Scotland*, and take care of his Health. The King having got toge-

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ther 8000 Horſe and Dragoons, and 10000 Foot, raw, undiſciplin'd Men, deſign'd to ſlip by the *Engliſh* Army into *England*, making uſe of *Cromwell*'s Indiſpoſition, to whom the Parliament wrote that he might for his Health's ſake come into *England* for change of Air, but he did not think fit to leave *Scotland*, while the King grew ſo ſtrong in the North. In *June* 1651. he recover'd ſo well that the Doctors left him, and he march'd towards the Enemy with 15000 Men, the *Scots* upwards of 20000 lying at *Torwood*, between whom, and the *Engliſh*, there were frequent Skirmiſhes; the *Engliſh* came up ſo near to them, that the Cannon on both ſides play'd on each other, and *Cromwell* being on the Hills, drew down into the Vale to tempt the *Scots* to fight him, which they refuſing; he march'd back to *Lithgow*. There were a River, and a Bog, between the two Armies, and the General ſeeing he cou'd by no means draw the *Scots* to a Combat, divided his Army, and landed part of them in *Fife*, where *Lambert* fell on a Body of *Scots*, and cut off three of their beſt Regiments of Horſe, and five of Foot; on this ſucceſs *Cromwell* Ship'd the reſt of his Army, took the Iſle of *Ingerney* and *Brunt* Iſland, and afterwards march'd to St. *Johnſtoun* to prevent ſupplies coming to the Enemy from the North of *Scotland*. This Town kept him in play

a few Days, and the King in the mean time march'd about *Hamilton*, and ſo intended for *England*. The Parliament were angry with their General for giving his Majeſty that opportunity; But having reduc'd St. *Johnſtown*'s he left the command of the Army to Lieutenant-General *Monk*, and follow'd the King, of which he gave his Maſters an Account, and wrote to them, that he did not Queſtion but all wou'd end for the better, *For their Enemies in deſpair and fear, and out off inevitable Neceſſity, were run to try what they cou'd do in this way*, and encourag'd them to prepare for their Defence. Major-General *Harriſon* had with him 3000 Horſe in *Lancaſhire* to oppoſe the *Scots*, and *Cromwell* haſted after them with the Body of the Army, and kept ſo cloſe to them, that his Majeſty was at *Worceſter*, but five Days before him.

The Trainbands all over *England* were order'd to oppoſe the King, and part of theſe joining with *Cromwell*'s Troops, made up an Army of 50000 Men, the King had ſcarce 13000 *Scots*, who in their Skirmiſhes with ſome of the *Engliſh*, cry'd out, *You Rogues, we will be with you, before your* Cromwell *comes*. Few People of Note join'd with the King, and the Country ſeem'd generally hearty for the Parliament, ſo infatuated were they againſt their Duty and Intereſt. *Fleetwood*, *Lambert* and *Harri-*

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ſon brought up all their Forces, and ſurrounded his Majeſty in *Worceſter*. *Cromwell* took up his headQuarters two Miles off the City, and *Fleetwood* with his Body lay at *Upton*. *Lambert* drove the *Scots* from *Upton* Bridge, and the King's Troops, ſallying out to ſuſtain them, were repuls'd by the *Engliſh*: In the Morning, the 3d of *September*, Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood* had orders to advance with his Brigade on the other ſide Severn, and *Cromwell* commanded two Bridges to be laid over that River and *Tame*. The *Engliſh* diſputed the Hedges with much Courage and Reſolution. The fight began on the other ſide Severn. The King's Horſe and Foot drawing out to oppoſe *Fleetwood*'s Paſſage over the River, *Cromwell* himſelf went at the head of his own Regiment, with *Hacker*'s Regiment of Horſe, and *Ingoldsby* and *Fairfax*'s of Foot, to aſſiſt Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*. Then *Goff* and *Dean*'s Regiments ſcour'd the Hedges, which the King's Forces had lin'd with Musketeers. The *Engliſh* drove the *Scots* to *Powick* Bridge, where three *Scots* Regiments diſputed that Paſs a long time, but at laſt were forc'd from their Paſs, and retir'd into *Worceſter*. The King reſolving to have one puſh for his Crown, ſally'd out himſelf at the head of a great Body of Horſe and Foot on *Cromwell*'s ſide, and charg'd with

with ſuch Bravery that the *Engliſh* gave ground. Duke *Hamilton* was wounded in this Action, which fell heavieſt on the *Cheſhire* and *Surrey* Militia, and indeed the Trainbands that came againſt the *Scots* fought ſtoutly, and came chearfully to the Battel. In which *Oliver* wrote to the Parliament, *They perform'd ſingular good Service.* The Generals *Desborough*'s and *Lambert*'s Regiments of Horſe, and *Whalley*'s, *Harriſon*'s and *Tomlinſon*'s Brigades, re-inforcing the Militia that begun to be in ſome diſorder, The King's Forces cou'd not ſtand the ſhock of theſe regular freſh Troops, but threw down their Arms, and fled, tho' his Majeſty rode up and down among them, and often beg'd them with his Hat in his Hand to rally, ſaying, *I had rather you wou'd ſhoot me, then keep me alive to ſee the Conſequences of this fatal Day.* The Earl of *Cleveland*, and ſome other Lords with a few Squadrons, return'd and gave a ſmall check to the Victors; but the *Engliſh* having gain'd their Works, and planted their own Guns on the *Scots*, the Rout was general and irrecoverable. The King ſeeing all was loſt, made his eſcape, and after he had liv'd 2 Months diſguis'd like a Servant in *England* he fled into *France.* The *Scots* retreated into the Town, and the *Engliſh* ran after them, fighting with them in the Streets,

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till they met no oppoſition. *Leſley* went off early with 2000 Horſe, and 1000 more of the *Scots* Cavalry eſcap'd, 3000 of them were kill'd in the Field, and the Flight, and 6000 taken Priſoners with all their Bag, Baggage and Treaſure. The General after the defeat ſent his Chirurgeon to Duke *Hamilton* to dreſs his wounds. The Duke, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Earl of *Cleveland*, the Earl of *Derby*, the Earl of *Lauderdale*, the Earl of *Rothes*, the Earl of *Carnwaith*, and the Earl of *Kelly*, were taken Priſoners, four Knights, and 640 Officers, the King's Coaches and Standard fell into the Conqueror's Hands. To whom the Parliament ſent the Lord Commiſſioner *Whitlock*, and 3 other Members, to meet him on his way from *Worceſter* to *London*, and to Congratulate him on his Victory. The four Members met him near *Ailsbury*, where many Compliments paſs'd between 'em, and *Cromwell* was obſerv'd to talk much in private with the Lord Chief Juſtice *St. John*, a great Favourite of his in his Protectorate. The General preſented the 4 Members with a Horſe each, and two *Scots* Priſoners. *Sept.* the 12th. he came to *London*, being met at *Acton* by the Speaker of the Parliament, the Lord Preſident, and many Members of Parliament, and of the Council of State, the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen of *London*, the Officers

ficers of the Militia, and a vaſt croud of People; through whom he march'd in Triumph to his Houſe at *White-hall*, and his Train was brought up by the *Scots* Priſoners, the King's Standard and Colours taken at *Worceſter*. This as he told the Parliament, *was a crowning Victory*, and having nothing now in his way, he made haſt to the Throne, of which he had a long time been in view. In *December* he loſt his Son-in-Law, *Ireton*, and was mightily troubl'd. This Perſon was a faithful Councellor, and an able Officer under him, and he very much lamented his Death.

The 10th of the ſame Month *Cromwell* deſir'd, Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, *Whitlock*, and ſeveral Members of Parliament, and Officers of the Army to meet him, at the Speaker *Lenthall*'s Houſe, where he propos'd to them, *That the King being dead, and his Son defeated; he held it neceſſary to come to a Settlement of the Nation. Whitlock* ſtarted the Queſtion, Whether *they ſhou'd think of an abſolute Republick? Or with any mixture of Monarchy. Cromwell* agreed to the Point, and ſaid, *If for Monarchy, in whom ſhall it be plac'd?* Sir *T. Widdrington*, For *Monarchy, and one of the King's Sons, the Duke of* Glouceſter. *Fleetwood*, For *a Republick.* St. *John*, *For a mixture of Monarchy. Whalley* for nothing *of Monarchical Power, and if it muſt be, againſt all the King's*

Children. *Whitlock* for Prince *Charles*, or the Duke of *York* to be receiv'd on Terms, agreeable *to Civil and Spiritual Liberties.* *Cromwell* anſwer'd, *That will be a Buſineſs of more than ordinary difficulty; but really I think, if it may be done with Safety and Preſervation of our Rights, both as* Engliſhmen, *and as Chriſtians, that a Settlement with ſomewhat of Monarchical Power in it, wou'd be very Effectual.* Which was the firſt time of his declaring Publickly, what he wou'd be at. The Officers were generally for a Commonwealth, tho' as *Whitlock* ſays, *Every one of them was a Monarch in his Regiment or Company.* The Lawyers were for a mixture of Monarchy, and many of them for the Duke of *Glouceſter*; but *Oliver* when he was nam'd, wou'd turn off the debate, and afterwards under pretence to ſave the Charge of keeping him, procur'd him to be ſent to Travel with his Brothers. *Cromwell* by this Conference, diſcover'd the Inclinations of the Perſons who were preſent, which was all he aim'd at.

While theſe things were agitating, a War broke out with *Holland*, and laſted till *Cromwell*'s Exaltation to the Protectorate, and the Parliament knowing the People began to murmur, as if they intended to prolong their Seſſion, haſten'd the Bill for a new Repreſentative, which the Army by their Gene-

Generals Intrigues, petition'd for, and wou'd not be content without it. To pleaſe him, they voted the 16th of *June* 1652. *That the Act of Parliament appointing* Oliver Cromwell *to be Captain-General, and Commander in Chief of the Forces rais'd by their Authority within* England, *ſhall extend to the Forces in* Ireland, *as if* Ireland *had been therein particularly nam'd, and that the* Lord General *be requir'd to appoint ſuch Perſon as he ſhall think fit to command the Forces in* Ireland, *and to Commiſſionate him accordingly.* This Vote he procur'd to turn out Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, a zealous Republican, who commanded in *Ireland*, and was one that he fear'd wou'd oppoſe him in his aſſuming the Government, and to put in *Fleetwood*, who had marry'd *Ireton*'s Widow, and was become his Son-in-Law and Creature. Accordingly *Fleetwood* was voted into that Office the 13th of *July*, by which means *Oliver* was ſure of *Ireland*, and of *Scotland* by *Monk*, another of his Creatures. The 13th of *Auguſt*, the Officers of the Lord-General's Army petition'd in a very haughty Manner for regulating Abuſes, and a new Parliament. *Cromwell* was advis'd to put a ſtop to the Soldiers, addreſſing to their Maſters with their Swords in their Hands, but he ſeem'd to ſlight it. *Lambert*, tho' he was diſguſted with *Fleetwood*'s *Iriſh* Commiſſion, which

he thought was his due, yet in hopes of ſucceeding *Oliver* at Home in the Govern-ment, fell in with him. Major-General *Harriſon*, and the *Millenarians*, who ex-pected a perſonal appearance of Chriſt on Earth, and a Viſible Kingdom of Glory in this World were ſo mad as to fancy *Oli-ver* was to prepare the way for it. Many of the Houſe of Commons in hopes of be-ing of his Councel and Court, gave into his Deſigns; the Royaliſts hop'd to mend their Condition by a change, and thought no State cou'd be worſe than the preſent. The Army were engag'd by his Carreſſes, and his encouraging their Tumultuous Petiti-ons. Thus he had remov'd all Obſtacles, but a weak Commonwealth Intereſt, which he had divided, and cou'd eaſily deſtroy. In *November* he had a ſecond Conference with *Whitlock*, and wou'd admit no body elſe. Where after he had propos'd many ways of changing the Government, and ſettling the Nation; he cry'd, *What if a Man ſhou'd take upon him to be King? Whit-lock* repreſented the Danger of it, both to himſelf, and the Nation, and tho' he ſeem'd ſatisfy'd with his Reaſons; he never after lik'd him well enough to bring him again into his Cabinet Council. The Buſineſs of the Diſſolution ſtill lying, and the Houſe by the Act of diſſolving this Parliament con-tinuing their own Seſſion two Years, till

Novem-

November 1654. it quite tir'd out *Oliver's* Patience. And now he had every day long Prayers with *Lambert* and *Harriſon*, and every Week private Faſts at his Houſe; which gave jealouſie to the Commonwealth's Men, that ſomething Extraordinary was on Foot. For *Cromwell* was always moſt Godly when he entended to do, what he cou'd leaſt juſtifie In *February*, he and the Army began to aſſume all the honour of paſt Actions to themſelves, and he never nam'd the Parliament but with Scorn. The 20th of *April* 1653. Hearing by Col. *Ingoldsby*, that the Houſe were in debate of Nominating 40 Perſons for managing the Affairs of the Commonwealth, till a new Parliament ſhou'd meet, without making any more mention of his Excellency, than to be one of them; he as had been the Day before concerted at his Houſe, attended by Major-General *Lambert*, Major-General *Harriſon*, and ſeven or eight Officers more came to the Houſe of Commons, and led a File of Musketeers in with him, placing others at the Door of the Houſe. Then entering in a rage, he bad the Speaker *leave his Chair, and told the Houſe they had Sat long enough, unleſs they had done more good; that ſome of 'em were Whore Maſters, pointing to* Harry Martyn, *and Sir* Peter Wentworth; *others of 'em were Drunkards, and ſome Corrupt and Unjuſt Men,*

and Scandalous to the Profeſſion of the Goſpel, and 'twas not fit they ſhou'd Sit as a Parliament, he therefore deſir'd them to be gone; the Speaker not ſtirring from his Chair, Collonel *Harriſon*, who ſat near it, roſe up and took him by the Arm to remove him from his Seat, which when the Speaker ſaw, he left it. Some of the Members wou'd have Anſwer'd *Cromwell*'s Speech, but he wou'd not ſuffer them, and ſo arrogantly Commanded Silence, that ev'n his own Followers were aſham'd of him. He bad one of his Soldiers *take away that Fool's Bawble*, the Mace, and ſtaid himſelf to ſee all the Members out of the Houſe. He then Lock'd up the Doors, and ſet Guards on the Avenues; the moſt impudent Action that ever happen'd within thoſe Walls, and had he had common Modeſty, the Example of King *Charles* the Firſt, who, for only Entring the Houſe with his Yeoman of the Guard, and quietly leaving it, was perſecuted to Death, wou'd have deterr'd him from a Violence, which had been ſo fatal toLawful Sovereigns.

The next day himſelf, and his Party, were buſy in finding out a new Government, and Governors. He, and his Officers order'd all Courts of Juſtice, Magiſtrates, and others, to Act as formerly, and the 22d. of *April* he put forth a Declaration to Excuſe his Proceedings, and Addreſſes came to him from the Fleet, from *Monk*, and the Army

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in *Scotland*, *ſhewing their Concurrence with the* Lord General, *and his Council of Officers, in Diſſolving the Parliament.* The *Dutch* rejoyc'd at this Revolution, hoping they might make their Market by it, yet they were ſoon undeceiv'd, and forc'd to Court the new Government to give 'em Peace. *Oliver*, doubting the Effects of a Free Parliament, and knowing the People of *England* wou'd not be Satisfy'd without ſomething like a Repreſentative, Summon'd by Conſent of his Councel of Officers, ſelect Perſons out of every County, Choſen by him and his Councel, in all 140, to Meet the 4th. of *July* at the Council-Chamber at *Whitehall.* At the time appointed 120 of them appear'd, and being ſeated round a Table, *Cromwell*, and his Officers ſtanding in the middle he made a Speech to them, ſhewing the Cauſe of their Summons, *and that they had a clear Call to take upon 'em the ſupream Authority of the Commonwealth*, and prov'd it by ſeveral Texts of Scripture. He then, by an Inſtrument under his own Hand and Seal, deliver'd up the Government to them, which he had raviſh'd from the Rump, and enjoy'd 10 Weeks. He enjoin'd them to ſit no longer than the 3d. of *Novemb.* 1654. And before their Diſſolution to make choice of other Perſons to ſucceed them. After this Speech and Ceremony *Cromwell* and his Officers with-

drew, and they Adjourn'd to the Parliament Houſe, where they choſe Mr. *Rouſe* for their Speaker for a Month, and Voted themſelves to be a Parliament. 'Twas ſtrange that ſo many Perſons, ſome of 'em Men of Fortune and Knowledge ſhou'd on ſuch an irregular Summons take upon 'em the ſupreme Authority of the Nation, but *Oliver* knew his Men, and theſe were for his purpoſe. They reſolv'd, That *Cromwell*, *Lambert*, *Harriſon* and *Tomlinſon*, ſhou'd be admitted to ſit as Members of that Houſe, and 'twou'd have been hard if they had not granted that Favour to thoſe who had ſo civilly reſign'd the Soveraign Authority into their hands: Under theſe, *Cromwell*, and the Council of State, had the Executive Power, till the Convention roſe. In *November* there was a dangerous Tumult at *Whitehall*; the Prize Office, which was kept there, being threatned to be demoliſh'd by the Seamen, for want of ſatisfying them in their dividends.

They came down arm'd, but the Lord General, and his Life Guards ſoon diſperſt them. The 13th of *December*, the Mock Parliament came in a Body, the Speaker having the Mace carry'd before him to the Lord General at *Whitehall*, and by an Inſtrument prepar'd before, reſign'd their Powers into his Hands, having created Oliver *Lord Protector of the Common Wealth of*

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England, Scotland *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions thereto belonging for his Life.* As appears by the 23d Article of the Paper which was to be the Model of their new Conſtitution. By another Article, *Philip* Lord Viſcount *Liſle*, afterwards Earl of *Leiceſter*, *Charles Fleetwood*, Eſq; Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Bar. Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, Bar. the Famous Earl of *Shaftsbury*, *Edward Montague* Eſq; ſince Earl of *Sandwich*, *John Desborough* Eſq; *Walter Strickland*, Eſq; *Hen. Lawrence*, Eſq; *William Sydenham* Eſq; *Phillip Jones*, Eſq; *Richard Major*, Eſq; *Francis Rous*, Eſq; and *Phillip Skippon*, Eſq; were made the Protector's Council, their Orders were to have the Power of an Act of Parliament, in many Caſes. *Oliver* was in all the reſt to be Sovereign, and they to be his Privy Councel, as in the Inſtrument it ſelf is at large related, in *Whitlock*'s Memorials, p. 556. This Writing was Regiſtred in Chancery, and ſign'd by *Cromwell*'s Hand the 16th of Decem. in that Court. The Lord Mayor of *London* in his return from this Solemnity, carry'd the Sword himſelf bare-headed before the Protector to *Whitehall.* This was the firſt day of his Reign, which tho' ſhort, was as Arbitrary as the worſt of our Kings, and as Fortunate as the beſt of 'em. How he manag'd his uſurp'd Sovereignty we ſhall ſee hereafter.

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The ſame day a Proclamation was publiſh'd, to give notice of his Acceſſion to his Office, and to continue all Officers and Magiſtrates in theirs. He took on great ſtate that very Day, and Ceremonies and Reſpects were paid him by all ſorts of Men, as to their Prince. Addreſſes came crowding to him from all Parts of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, promiſing Obedience to him, as their Lord, and he ſo affected to ſeem humble in his high Station, that when complaints were made to him by different Sects in Religion, he uſually told 'em; *His Power was no greater in the Nation, than a Conſtables. Which was to keep Peace and Quietneſs among all Parties.* In the beginning of *January* ſeveral Foreign Miniſters came over to Congratulate him, and gave him the Title *of Highneſs*, and the firſt thing he did abroad, was to make a Peace with the *Dutch*, to the great Joy of both Nations. The 8th of *February*, the Protector din'd with the Lord Mayor of *London*, whom he Knighted, and the 9th he made a Call of Serjeants at Law. The 18th a Plot was diſcover'd, and 11 Perſons ſent Priſoners to the *Tower*, for a Conſpiracy form'd againſt the Protector's Life, among theſe were, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Colonel *Gerrard*, his Brother, the Earl of *Oxford*, Mr. *Porter*, and one *Vowell*, a Schoolmaſter at *Iſlington*. Colonel *Gerrard* was try'd, condemn'd and beheaded, and

and *Vowell* hang'd for the Plot. Monſieur *Bourdeaux*, the French Ambaſſador concluded a Peace with him, of which a private Article was; That none of the Royal Houſe of *Stuart* ſhou'd live in *France*, and purſuant to this Article, the King and the Dukes of *York* and *Glouceſter*, were forc'd to leave that Kingdom. In May *Monk* was ſent into *Scotland*, and ſtay'd there till the Protector's Death, where he kept all things in ſubjection to him. *Oliver* oblig'd the States of *Holland* to Exclude the Prince of *Orange* from any Office, in their Republick, to which moſt of the Provinces conſented, and the falling in with *Cromwell*'s Hatred of the Houſe of *Stuart* was like to have been fatal to that Commmonwealth. On the 4th of *July* 1654 a new Parliament met, ſummon'd by *Oliver*'s Writs, who rode in State from *Whitehall* to the *Abby* Church in *Weſtminſter*, Some Hundreds of Gentlemen and Officers went before him, next to theſe his Pages, and Lacqueys in rich Liveries, on one ſide of his Coach walkt *Strickland*, one of his Council, and Captain of his Guards, *Howard* Captain of his Life Guards on the other ſide; In theCoach with him was his Son *Henry* and *Lambert*, all bare, Marſhal'd by Sir *Oliver Fleming*, Maſter of the Ceremonies. *Claypole*, Maſter of the Horſe, led his Horſe of State, in rich Trappings, then rode the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, the Lords

of

of the Treaſury, his privy Councellors, the Rear, clos'd by his ordinary Guards. When he alighted out of his Coach, the Lord *VVitlock*, carry'd the Purſe with the Great Seal, and General *Lambert* the Sword before the Protector, who ſeated himſelf over againſt the Pulpit, the Members of Parliament on both ſides of him; after the Sermon, which was preach'd by Dr. *Goodwin*, the Protector went in the ſame ſtate to the *Painted Chamber*, where was a Chair ſet for him rais'd ſeveral Steps, and Seats around him, for the Members of the Houſe of Commons, to whom pulling off his Hat, he gave an Account of what Methods he had purſu'd ſince his having the Management of Affairs; of Peace made with *France*, *Holland*, *Denmark*, *Portugal* and *Sweden*, and ended with this Sentence, *I deſire you to believe I ſpeak not to You, as one that wou'd be a Lord over You, but as One that is reſolv'd to be fellow Servant with you, to the Intereſt of theſe great Affairs.* The Houſe Choſe *William Lenthall*, Eſq; Speaker of the Long Parliament, their Speaker, and fell immediately on the Protectorate, which allarm'd the Courtiers, and *Oliver* not at all pleas'd to have his Authority queſtion'd, came to them the 22d. of *January*, and, after a very tedious canting Speech, Diſſolv'd them, having before Order'd that none ſhou'd Sit in the Houſe that wou'd not Sign an Obliga-

tion,

tion, *To be True and Faithful to the Lord Protector.* On the Diſſolution of the Parliament all Sides began to ſtir, the *Royaliſts* expecting that the Gentry on this Uſage wou'd aſſiſt 'em to bring in the King, and the *Sectarians* in expectation of King Jeſus. *Oliver* to ſecure himſelf from theſe, ſeiz'd his old Friend Major General *Harriſon* and Collonel *Rich*, and ſent Orders to *Monk* to Confine Major General *Overton*, Major *Brampton* and Major *Holmes*. For the Royaliſts, 200 under Sir *Joſeph Wagſtaff*, one of the general Conſpiracy for reſtoring the King, march'd into *Salisbury*, where they were join'd by Collonel *Penruddock* and Mr. *Grove*. The Judges were then in their *Lenten* Circuit. *Rolls* and *Nicholls* were on the Bench when the Cavaliers took their Horſes, and thoſe of the Lawyers in the Circuit, and mounted on them 200 more; thence they march'd to *Blandford*, where Collonel *Penruddock* himſelf Proclaim'd the King. Capt. *Butler*, with two Troops of *Cromwell*'s Horſe, follow'd 'em at a diſtance, to give others an Opportunity of joining them, and then to do their Buſineſs at once. *Penruddock* ſeeing no body came in to him in *Dorſetſhire*, went forward to try *Devonſhire* and *Cornwall*, and at *Southmoulton* Capt. *Unton Crook* fell upon the Royaliſts, and took *Penruddock*, Collonel *Grove* and Coll. *Jones*, a Kinſman of *Cromwell*'s, with 120 Horſes,

Horſes, and 60 Priſoners. Sir *Joſeph Wagſtaff*, Mr. *Maſon*, Mr. *Clark* and Mr. *Mompeſſon* eſcap'd beyond Sea, and thus was this Inſurrection ſuppreſs'd. *Penrudduck* and *Grove* were Beheaded at *Exeter*, and others Hang'd. The Conſpiracy was laid all over *England*, and *Oliver* had Notice of it by the means of one *Manning*, Sir *Edward Hide*'s Servant, to whom he allow'd 6000*l.* a Year, for betraying King *Charles*'s Secrets. *Manning* liv'd in the King's Court in *Germany* as a Spy, for which being detected in the very Act of Writing to Mr. *Thurloe*, *Cromwell*'s Secretary, the King order'd him to be Shot to Death at *Duynwald* in *Germany*. *Oliver*'s Expence for Intelligence was very large, and very private, ſometimes manag'd wholly by himſelf. *Thurloe* was wont to tell this Story, as an Inſtance of his Politicks that way, 'He was Commanded by *Cromwell* to go, at a certain Hour, to *Grays-Inn*, 'and at ſuch a Place deliver a Bill of '20000 *l.* Payable to the Bearer at *Genoa*, 'to a Man he ſhou'd find Walking in ſuch 'a Habit and Poſture, as he deſcrib'd him, 'without ſpeaking one Word, which Or'der *Thurloe* obey'd, and never knew, to 'his dying day, either the Perſon or Occa'ſion. At another time, the Protector 'coming late into *Thurloe*'s Office, and talk'ing to him about ſome important Affairs, 'thinking no body was in hearing, ſpy'd

'Mr.

'Mr. *Moreland*, ſince Sir *Samuel Moreland*, 'one of the Clerks in the Secretary's Of-'fice, ſleeping on his Desk, whom *Oliver* 'wou'd have preſently ſtabb'd with a Dag-'ger, had not *Thurloe* aſſur'd him he had 'ſate up two Nights diſpatching ſome Affairs, 'and was certainly aſleep. Several In-ſtances of his Intelligence from all Parts, and his care to preſerve it, might be giv'n, if we had more room. The ſame Year he ſent *Blake* to fall on the *Spaniards*, who had offended him, at *Cales* and in the *Streights*, and General *Venables* and *Pen* to the *Weſt-Indies* with a good Fleet, and 7000 Land-men, who, tho' they were unfortunate in *Hiſpaniola*, yet they took the rich Iſland of *Jamaica*, which has ever ſince been in Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh* to their great Ad-vantage. *Blake* deſtroy'd two *Spaniſh* Fleets, humbled the *Corſairs* of *Tunis*, *Tripoly*, *Al-gier* and *Salley*, and ſent home 3 Millions of Pieces of Eight; and as *Oliver* maintain'd his Reputation abroad by his Arms, ſo he endeavour'd to do it at Home by his Gal-lantry and Splendor of his Court, by his Courting and Cajoling all Parties; by his Generoſity to ſome Men of Learning, and ev'n ſome of the Biſhops, as Biſhop *Uſher* of *Armagh*, and *Brownrig* Biſhop of *Exeter*, whom he maintain'd; by his Care of the Proteſtants in *Savoy*, having ſent an Envoy to the Duke for Favour to thoſe poor People,

and

and made a Collection of 50000 *l.* for them. However there were continual Plots againſt him, and Major *Wildman* was taken as he was Dictating to a Servant, *The Declaration of the Free and Well-affected People of* England, *now in Arms againſt the Tyrant* Oliver Cromwell, *Eſq*; and Coll. *Birch*, and ſeveral other Presbyterians, were ſecur'd.

He recall'd *Fleetwood*, and ſent his Son *Henry Cromwell* Lord Deputy to *Ireland*, which Kingdom ſent 30 Members to the Parliament of *England*; the ſame did *Scotland*, and *Engliſh* Judges went their Circuits in that Kingdom. In *October* 1655, he appointed Major Generals with more Power in the ſeveral Counties, than our Lord Lieutenants enjoy at preſent: For *Kent* and *Surrey*, Coll. *Keiſey*; for *Suſſex*, *Hampſhire* and *Berkſhire*, Coll. *Goff*; for *Glouceſterſhire*, *Wiltſhire*, *Dorſet*, *Somerſet*, *Devon* and *Cornwall*, Coll. *Desborough*, for *Oxforſhire*, *Buckinghamſhire*, *Hertfordſhire*, *Cambridgſhire*, *Iſle* of *Ely*, *Eſſex*, *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*; for *London*, Major General *Skippon*; for *Lincolnſhire*, *Nottingham*, *Derby*, *Warwick* and *Leiceſter*, Coll. *Whalley*; for *Northamptonſhire*, *Bedford*, *Rutland* and *Huntingtonſhire*, Coll. *Butler*; for *Worceſterſhire*, *Hereford*, *Shropſhire*, and *North Wales*, Coll. *Berry*; for *Cheſhire*, *Lancaſhire* and *Stafford*, Coll. *Worſley*; for *Torkſhire*, *Durham*, *Cumberland*, *Northumberland* and *VVeſtmorland*, General

neral *Lambert*; for *Weſtminſter*, and *Middleſex*, Coll. *Berkſtead*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*. Theſe Major Generals kept their Office in *Fleet-ſtreet*; the greateſt ſervice they did was to oblige Delinquents to pay in the Tenths of their Eſtates for old Offences, and to influence Elections of Parliament Men; but their Maſter, thinking one Tyrant in a Nation ſufficient, in a very little while took away their Commiſſions.

He, and his Council, appointed a Committee of Trade to conſider how to Improve, Order and Regulate the Trade and Navigation of the Commonwealth, and Letters were ſent Sign'd by *Henry Lawrence*, Preſident of the Council, to Summon ſome Select Perſons, Merchants and others, to meet in the Painted Chamber, and Confer about this great War. Thus he liv'd in full Enjoyment of all earthly Grandeur, Courted by all the Legal Sovereigns of *Europe*, as if he had been one himſelf, and dreaded by thoſe whoſe Friendſhip he wou'd not accept of. Cardinal *Mazarine* was ſo afraid of him, that 'twas a common ſaying in *France*, *He was not ſo much afraid of the Devil, as of* Oliver Cromwell. 'Twas a fatal ſtep he took when he join'd with that Miniſter to pull down the *Spaniards*, and ſent 6000 brave Soldiers over to *Flanders*, to aſſiſt Monſieur *de Turenne* in the Siege of *Dunkirk*, for tho' that Port was, by an Article of his Treaty

with *Mazarine*, to be put into his Hands, yet the blows the *Spaniards* receiv'd from the *French*, by means of *Cromwell*'s Confederacy, rais'd the Houſe of *Bourbon* as much as it depreſt that of *Auſtria*, and the *French* are the only Enemies that *England* need regard.

The 17th of *September* 1656 his ſecond Parliament met, and Choſe Sir *Thomas Widdrington* Speaker; they were as Pliable as the Protector cou'd wiſh, and he took the way to have them ſo, by permitting none to ſit but thoſe his Council approv'd of. They renounc'd the King, Voted the *Spaniſh* War Juſt, paſt an Act for the ſecuring of his Highneſs's Perſon, and gave him as much Money as he deſir'd. The 19th of *January* *Miles Sindercomb*'s Plot to Aſſaſſinate the Protector, and fire *Whitehall*, was diſcover'd, the Parliament order'd a day of Thankſgiving for the Diſcovery, and moſt obligingly waited on the Protector, to Congratulate him on the Mercy and Deliverance. The 9th of *February*, *Sindercomb* was Try'd, found Guilty, and Condemn'd to be hang'd, drawn and quarter'd, but prevented the Execution of the Sentence, by taking a Doſe of Poyſon. Serjeant *Glyn* declar'd, that by the Common *Law to Compaſs or Imagin the Death of a Chief Magiſtrate, by what name ſo ever he was call'd, whether* Lord Protector *or otherwiſe, is High Treaſon, and that the Statute* 25. *of*

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Edward 3. *was only declaratory of the Common Law.* This Plot produc'd the Humble *Petition and Advice*, the main design of it was, That the Lord Protector wou'd take on him the Title of King, of which he was as fond as of the Power. The Parliament order'd a Committee to wait on him, and remove his affected Scruples. *Cromwell* in this Affair Consulted often with the Lord *Broghill*, *Pierrepoint*, *Whitlock*, Sir *Charles Wolseley* and *Thurlo*, who all flatter'd him in his Ambition. So far he went towards his Coronation, that a Crown was actually made and brought to *Whitehall*, and Mr. *Waller* the famous Poet Sings thus of him on this account, and the burning and taking of the *Spanish* Fleet at *Cales*.

His conquering Head has no more room for Bays,
Then let it be, as the whole Nation Prays,
With Purple cloth'd, and Ermine, let him hold
A Royal Scepter made of Spanish *Gold.*

Whether the whole Nation gave their Votes for his Kingship is very much to be doubted; if they had, *Cromwell* wou'd certainly have turn'd the *Spanish* Gold to the use the Poet speaks of. But he was Cunning enough to see the Army were averse to it, and he fear'd the Republican Faction, and waiting a better Opportunity, he wou'd not Consent that the Title of *King* shou'd be put in the Mock Parliaments Ad-

dreſs, but Paſs'd all the other Articles of the *Humble Petition and Advice*, being much in his favour. After this Act, which Confirm'd him in the Supream Authority, he made up a Houſe of Peers, and was ſolemnly Inaugurated the 26th. of *June* 1657.

In *Flanders* Coll. *Reynolds* and Mr. *Lockhart* did ſignal Service in Monſieur *de Turene*'s Army, and 'twas by the aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh* chiefly that *Dunkirk* and *Mardike* were taken. They were in the Van when the *French* General attack'd the *Spaniards* under *Don John* of *Auſtria*, who came to raiſe the Siege of *Dunkirk*, and tho' they had an Aſcent to make before they reach'd the Enemy, yet, after their old way in the Civil Wars, they fell too with Puſh of Pike, and But-end of Musket, and forc'd the *Spaniards* to give back. The *French* Horſe charg'd the *Spaniſh*, among whom were the Dukes of *York* and *Gloceſter*, and the *Spaniards* made a brave reſiſtance, till the *Engliſh* came upon them, whoſe Valour they cou'd not reſiſt, but fled before them. The Glory obtain'd here by the Viſcount *de Turenne* is acknowledg'd by *French* Authors to be owing to the *Engliſh* Auxiliaries, and *Dunkirk* was the Price of the Victory. While his Troops were before *Dunkirk*, *Cromwell* one Morning ſent for the *French* Ambaſſador to Court, and upbraided him publickly, for his Maſter's Intention to break the Articles between them, in giving ſecret Orders to the

the *French* General, not to let the *Engliſh* have the Place if it was taken, as he had Stipulated to do. The Ambaſſador proteſted he knew nothing of the matter (which, 'tis ſaid, was true) and beg'd leave to aſſure him there was no ſuch thing thought of. *How*, ſays *Cromwell*, and pulls a Paper out of his Pocket, *See, here's the Copy of the Cardinal's Order; I deſire you to diſpatch an Expreſs away immediately, to let him know, that I cannot be Impos'd upon, and that if he delivers not up the Keys of the Town of* Dunkirk *to* Lockhart *within an Hour after it ſhall be taken, tell him, I'll come in Perſon and Demand them at the Gates of* Paris. There were no more than 4 Perſons privy to this Order, the Queen-Mother, the Cardinal, Monſieur *de Turenne*, and a Secretary. The Cardinal, a long time, laid the Fault of the Diſcovery to the Queen, as if ſhe had been talking of it to the Court Ladies. But when the Secretary dy'd, 'twas found he had, for ſeveral Years paſt, kept a ſecret Correſpondence with *Cromwell*. *Dunkirk* was immediately put into the hands of the *Engliſh*; and to palliate the matter, the Duke *de Crequi*, and Signior *Mancini*, the Cardinal's Nephew, were ſent to Congratulate the Protector on the Succeſs of his, and the *French* King's Arms. *Oliver* was arriv'd to that height of Reputation abroad, that he wou'd not allow the *French* King to call himſelf King of *France* in the Treaty made with him

him againſt *Spain*, but only King of the *French*, and put his own Name before *Lewis* the XIVth. So much did Cardinal *Mazarine* Court this Fortunate Soldier, if we can believe *Puffendurf* in his Life of the Elector of *Brandenburgh*. The Cardinal's Nephew brought a Letter from his Eminency then with the Lord *Lockhart* at *Dunkirk*, to the Protector, wherein he writes to him, *That being in view of the* Engliſh *Shoar, nothing but the King's Indiſpoſition (the Small Pox) cou'd have hindred him to come over to* England, *that he might enjoy the Honour of waiting upon one of the greateſt Men that ever was, and whom, next to his Maſter, his greateſt ambition was to ſerve. But being depriv'd of ſo great happineſs, he had ſent the Perſon that was neareſt to him in Blood, to aſſure him of the profound Veneration he had for his Perſon*, &c. Theſe Embaſſadors had Audience of him the 15th of *June* 1658. In all his Actions, and particularly his Treaties with Crown'd Heads, few Princes ever carry'd it ſo high as *Oliver*. He might have had *Dunkirk* betray'd to him for Money, but he ſcorn'd the Offer.

Thus having Triumph'd over all his Enemies, and liv'd 5 Years in Poſſeſſion of the Protectorate, ſafe from the Deſigns of Thouſands who wou'd have ventur'd their All to ſend him out of the World, he at laſt met with an Enemy that wou'd not be put off. For the Lady *Elizabeth Cleypole*, his beſt

beſt darling Daughter, dying the 7th. of *Aug.* and he was ſo much concern'd for the loſs; that being not perfectly well before, on the 26th of *Auguſt* he fell Sick at *Hampton Court*, where he delighted to Live, and on *Friday* the 3d. of *Sept.* dy'd the ſame day, upon which he had beaten the *Scots* at *Dunbar*, and obtain'd the Victory at *Worceſter*. And thus after all his Toil and Troubles he went to his Grave in reſt. His Body was remov'd to *White-hall*, and from thence to *Somerſet Houſe*, where for 10 Weeks it lay in greater State than ever had been ſeen in *England*. From *Somerſet Houſe*, 'twas Convey'd to *Weſtminſter Abby*, attended by the Officers of the Fleet and Army, the Lord-Keeper, the Foreign Miniſters, the Judges, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, the Officers of his Houſhold, &c. 'Twas depoſited under a ſtately *Mauſoleum*, and then buried in *Henry* the VIIth's Chappel.

His Character was various, he was Brave, Ambitious, Generous and Diſſembling, ſometimes he wou'd be Free and Familiar, even to frolick and play with his Domeſticks; and at other times he wou'd affect a haughty, ſullen Air, and treat Perſons of the Firſt Quality as his Subjects. In the Expences of his Table, and on his Perſon, he was very frugal and moderate. His VVife was a great lover of Oeconomy in her Family and us'd to ſay when ſhe liv'd at *White-hall*, *She wonder'd how the other VVoman*, a term ſhe

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gave the Queen Mother *who liv'd there before, cou'd ſquander ſo much Money.* *Oliver* lov'd ſhow, but did not care it ſhou'd coſt much; In his Liveries and Equipage, he was Gay and Magnificent above all in his Guards and Attendants; in other things he liv'd like a private Man. 'Tis reported of him, that in one of his pleaſant Humours he got out of his Coach in *Hide Park*, and mounted the Box, which became him better than the Throne; but not being ſo Skilful in guiding the Reins of his Horſes, as in Ruleing three Kingdoms, he Overturn'd the Coach, and *Thurloe* his Secretary in it, they neither of 'em receiv'd any hurt: However, the poor Secretary was in a terrible fright, and reſolv'd never to truſt him in a Coach-Box again. He was certainly the greateſt Hypocrite in *Europe*. He betray'd the Cauſe he was engag'd in, and at the ſame time that he pretended to fight for Liberty, he ſet up an Arbitrary Government, ſanctifying his Actions with the pretence that all was for the *Glory of God*, which was his uſual Cant.

With all his Faults he was, as Sir *Roger Manley* writes, tho' he ſays he was a Coward at firſt, *Of great Courage and vaſtneſs of Mind, ſince he rais'd himſelf up from a private Condition, and a ſimple Gentleman, to the ſupreme height of Empire, not altogether unworthy the Degree he attain'd to, if he had not acquir'd it by ill Means.*

The END

THE LIFE OF Admiral *COLIGNY.*

PART II.

Gaſpar de Coligny Mareſchal de Chatillon, Father of the Admiral, was deſcended of a very ancient Family, who were formerly Sovereigns of the Cities of *Nantua* and *Manlouet*, in the Neighbourhood of *Geneva*, and of *Coligny* in *Savoy*, but were deprivd of their Sovereignty by the prevailing Power of the Dukes of *Savoy*, and contented themſelves with poſſeſſing the firſt Dignities and Offices in

the Court of *France*. By his Wife *Louiſe de Montmerenci*, Siſter to the famous Conſtable *Anne de Montmerenci*. He had three Sons, *Odet de Chaſtillon* afterwards Cardinal, *Gaſpard de Coligny* Admiral of *France*, and *Francis Andelot* Colonel General of the *French* Infantry.

Gaſpard was born at *Chaſtillon Sur Loire* the 16th. of *February* 1517, and tho' he was the ſecond Brother, yet his Father, for his early delighting in Arms and warlike Exerciſes, lov'd him better than any of his other Children. The Mareſchal dy'd when his Son *Gaſpard* was ſcarce 6 Years of Age, and at his death recommended him to the care of the Conſtable *de Montmerenci*, his Unkle, who deſign'd to breed him for the Church, and make his Elder Brother a Soldier. *Gaſpard*, underſtanding his Intentions, threw by his Books which he was fond enough of before, and cou'd never be perſwaded to follow his Studies, till his Unkle promis'd that he ſhou'd not be a Prieſt, and then he took to his Learning. The Conſtable gave way to his Genius, and getting a Cardinal's Cap for his Brother *Odet*, reſolv'd to advance *Gaſpard* in the Army.

When *Coligny* came firſt to Court, he contracted a cloſe Friendſhip with the Prince of *Ioinville*, Son of the Duke of *Guiſe*, for which the World accus'd him of Ingratitude, that Prince being the Conſtable *de Mont-*

Montmerenci's greateſt Enemy, but 'twas thought his Unkle had Reaſons for encouraging the Intimacy between his Nephew, and the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Son, who lov'd each other ſo well that they Liv'd together, Lay together, wore the ſame Cloaths, gave the ſame Liveries, were always on the ſame Side at Tilts and Turnaments, and kept Company in the common Follies of Youth.

Coligny was in his 27th. Year when he firſt bore Arms, for 'twas not the Cuſtom, in thoſe days, to ſend Children to the Academy, and Boys to the War. The 18th. of *April* 1543, he parted from *Paris* to Serve in *Flanders*, *Francis* the 1ſt. having rais'd 5 Armies to revenge himſelf on the Emperor *Charles* the 5th. for his Diſgrace at *Pavia*, and Impriſonment in *Spain*. The Duke of *Orleans*, *Francis*'s ſecond Son, and under him the Duke of *Guiſe*, Commanded the Army in *Flanders*, in which *Coligny* made his firſt Campaign, and was preſent at the taking *Damvillars*, *Arlon* and *Montmedi*, where he was Wounded in the Trenches. At the Sack of *Arlon* a young Lady, and her Aunt, deſir'd his Protection, which he generouſly granted them, tho' the Neice's Youth and Beauty might have tempted a Man of his Age to have refus'd it. He order'd two Officers to convey them to a Place of Safety, who, abuſing his Truſt, committed Violence on the Women, for

which he Profecuted them at a Councel of War, and had them both put to Death. The Women went into a Monaſtery, and *Coligny* paid their preſent Fees, and the Proviſion for their future Penſion.

He was ſo forward to run on any perilous Enterprize, that the Duke of *Guiſe*, whoſe Son imitated him out of Emulation, reprov'd him, for leading his Friend into Danger, which had not the Effect he deſir'd. *Coligny* took little notice of his Reproof, and Monſieur *de Montmorenci* hearing his Nephew was too raſh ſent for him to *Chantilli*, where the King had Commanded the Conſtable to retire, on ſome Miſrepreſentation made of him to his Majeſty. *Coligny* was at the Siege of *Luxemburg*, when he receiv'd theſe Orders. He obey'd his Unkle, and poſted to *Chantilli*, but finding his Buſineſs was only to Reprimand him for doing his Duty too well, he wou'd not be ſatisfy'd till the Conſtable permitted him to return to the Army, where he continu'd to be as daring and adventurous as before, and at laſt was deſperately Wounded at the Siege of *Bains*. His Unkle ſent his own Chirurgeon to take care of him, who cou'd not perſwade him to keep his Chamber above 10 days. He was not quite Cur'd when he mounted on Horſeback, and having prevail'd with the Duke of *Orleans* to Detach him with a Party of Horſe to o-

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ſerve the Enemy, he met a Squadron of theirs ſtronger than his own, Charg'd them, and took the Officer, who Commanded them, Priſoner. The King was inform'd of his Behaviour in the Action, and expreſs'd himſelf very much in his Favour; but he having unhappily join'd with the Faction that had leaſt Intereſt at Court, it hinder'd his Advancement.

The Conſtable, and a great part of the Nobles, ſided with the *Dauphin*; the Court, and a greater part of the Nobility, were for the Duke of *Orleans*, who ſeem'd to be moſt in the King's Affections, and was ſupported by the Dutcheſs *d'Eſtampes*, his Favourite Miſtreſs. *Coligny* was govern'd by his Unkle's Councels, neglecting a preſent Advantage to provide for the Future. His Nephew waited on the King in his march to *Rochell*, which City had revolted, provok'd to it by the exorbitant Taxes, and the Severity of the Collectors in gathering them. They Submitted on the approach of the Royal Army, and were taken into Mercy.

One of the five Armies rais'd by *Francis* the 1ſt. was Employ'd in *Italy*, and his Majeſty, at his return to *Paris*, heard his Troops were in ſight of the *Imperialiſts*, expecting every hour to Engage. Monſieur *de Chaſtillon* earneſtly pray'd him to give Leave, that himſelf, with ſeveral other

young Lords, might take Poſt, and join the Count *d'Enguien*, a Prince of the Blood, who Commanded the *French* Army. The King granted his Requeſt, and he arriv'd in the Camp a few days before the Battle of *Cerizoles*. The Marquiſs *du Guaſt*, at the Head of the *Imperialiſts*, advanc'd to Succour the Duke of *Savoy*, and drive the *French* out of *Piedmont*. The Pyrate *Barbaroſſa* was the *French* King's Confederate, and when the Count *d'Enguien* beſieg'd *Nice* by Land, the *Turk* diſtreſs'd it by Sea. Yet the Marquiſs *du Guaſt* forc'd *d'Enguien* to raiſe the Siege, and the Infidels to depart without their Plunder. *Barbaroſſa* intended to Poſſeſs himſelf of the Place, and erect another Sovereignty there, as he had done at *Tunis*, the Port lying convenient to annoy the Chriſtians Commerce in the *Mediterranean* on the *Italian* Shoar as *Tunis* lay, to ſnatch 'em up on the Coaſt of *Barbary*. *Du Guaſt* diſappointed the Deſigns of the Infidels, and their Allies the *French*. He follow'd the latter, after they had rais'd the Siege, and the *Turks* were gone. He gave them Battle in the Plain of *Cerizoles*, and was defeated. *Coligny*, and his Brother *Andelot*, were Knighted in the Field for their Bravery in the Engagement, which when the King was told of, he anſwer'd, *He expected no leſs from the Children of ſo brave a Soldier, and ſo great a Captain as*

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the Mareſchal de Chaſtillon. The two Brothers ſignaliz'd themſelves ſo much at the Siege of *Carignan*, that his Majeſty wrote to them with his own hand, to Incourage them to continue in the diſcharge of their Duty, and, to temper their Heat, advis'd 'em not to *miſtake Raſhneſs for Valour*.

The Emperor, and *Henry* the 8th. King of *England*, in the Year 1544, Enter'd into a League Offenſive and Defenſive againſt *France*. The *French* Kings having, ever ſince *Charles* VIIth. clear'd their Dominions of the *Engliſh*, been contriving by Marriages, Fraud or Force, to Incroach on their Neighbours, and enlarge their Empire. *Francis* the 1ſt. had as much Ambition to be Sole Lord of *Chriſtendom*, and might have been in a fairer way to Univerſal Monarchy than *Lewis* the 14th. the Grand Diſturber of *Europe* now Reigning, had not *Charles* the 5th. Emperor of *Germany*, and *Henry* the 8th. King of *England*, been Princes who were as impatient of Controul, and as eager after Fame and Power as himſelf. *Charles* attack'd *Luxemburgh*, and took it, and *Henry* did the ſame by *Boulogne*. The Emperor march'd from *Luxemburgh* to St. *Dizier*, and Beſieg'd it. The *Dauphin* rais'd an Army, and deſign'd to attempt its Relief, and Volunteers arriv'd daily out of *Italy* to ſerve under him; *Coligny* was one of them, and on his arrival the Dauphin gave him a Re-

giment of Foot, but that Prince cou'd not be in a readineſs to march before the Emperor had taken the Town. He then penetrated farther into *France*, and *Epernay* and *Château Thierry* were Surrender'd to him. He came within three days ſhort march of *Paris*. And the King of *England* was as ſucceſsful in *Picardy* as the Emperor was in *Champagne*. *Monſtreuil* follow'd the Fate of *Boulogne*; and *Francis* the Firſt ſaw no way to extricate himſelf out of theſe Difficulties ſo eaſy as a Peace. He offer'd his Terms firſt to the Emperor, and a Treaty commenced between him and the *French* King, which King *Henry* wou'd not hear of till the Emperor had concluded the Treaty, and abandon'd his Confederate. Inſtead of ordering his Troops to join the Duke of *Suffolk* in *Picardy*, he Commanded them to return to *Flanders*; upon which the King of *England* rather Choſe to give Peace to *France*, than maintain the War by himſelf. The *French* King paid the Charge of his Expedition, left *Boulogne* in the Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*, and King *Henry* on theſe Conditions reimbark'd his Forces, and return'd to *England*.

Francis I. as ſoon as the Storm was over, by the Perſwaſions of Cardinal *de Tournon*, one of his Miniſters, began to proſecute his Proteſtant Subjects. The Princes of the reform'd Religion in *Germany*, refus'd

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to renew their Alliances with him, while he treated their Friends in *France* ſo cruelly as he did, and in the preſent Poſture of his Affairs, 'twas abſolutely Neceſſary for him to keep up a good Correſpondence with them, that by embroiling the Emperor in *Germany*, he might find him work at Home, and prevent his carrying a new War into the Heart of his Dominions, which *Charles* the Vth. threatned to do. The *French* King conſulted with *Coligny*, who was not at that time converted to the true Religion, and he convinc'd his Majeſty, that 'twas his Intereſt not to offend the *German* Princes, and to forbear perſecuting his own Subjects of their Religion, ſince it was not only an impolitick Method, but ineffectual to Suppreſs it, for their Numbers increas'd by Perſecution. The King hearken'd to his wholeſome Advice, and wou'd have put it in Execution had he liv'd longer.

He dy'd in *March* 1547. and his Son *Henry* II. ſucceeded to the Crown, who contrary to the late King's Command on his Death-Bed, recall'd the Conſtable *de Montmerenci*, to Court, and turn'd out all his Father's Miniſters. Monſieur *de Chaſtillon* took Horſe, and outrode the Expreſs that carry'd to his Uncle, the joyful News of his Majeſty's requiring him to leave *Chantilli*, and return to the Exerciſe of his Offices. The Conſtable expected this Change on the

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Dauphin's Acceſſion to the Throne, having always a great Aſcendent over him. He thank'd his Nephew for his Affection to him, and for the News he brought him, promiſing to Employ all his Favour for his Intereſt, and his Families. The ſame Day he waited on the King, was receiv'd by him, as if he had been his Father, and enter'd immediately into the Management of Affairs, both as to War and Peace. *Coligny* was much of the ſame Age with *Henry* II. and conſequently fitter for his Pleaſures. By which Means the Uncle, and the Nephew, entirely govern'd the King and Kingdom.

The *French* King, by *Montmerenci*'s Advice, aſſiſted the Queen Regent of *Scotland* againſt the *Engliſh*, who wou'd have forc'd her to Marry the young Queen *Mary*, Daughter to *James* V. to King *Edward* VI. of *England*. *Andelot*, *Coligny*'s Brother, commanded the *French* Auxiliaries in *Scotland*, and *Coligny* himſelf was made Knight of the King's Orders, and Colonel General of the *French* Infantry.

Not long after the Conſtable oblig'd him to marry Mademoiſelle *De Laval*. His Brother *Andelot* having before by his Uncle's Procurement, marry'd a Lady of the ſame Name and Family, and a very great Fortune. The King had a Favourite, Mr. *Dampierre*, whom he had rais'd from a mean

mean Eſtate, to be firſt Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber. *Dampierre* hated *Coligny* for his Uncle's ſake, whom he thought had too much Power over the King. *Chaſtillon* to Eſtabliſh his Intereſt in the King, made his Court to *Henry*'s Miſtreſs, *Diana de Poitiers*, Dutcheſs of *Valentinois*; and *Dampierre* obſerving his Aſſiduity and Viſits to the Lady, inſinuated to the King, that there was an Intrigue between *Coligny* and Her. *Henry* to remove his pretended Rival, order'd him to the Frontier to view the Garriſons, and kept him there three Months: *Coligny*'s Abſence cur'd his Maſter's Jealouſy, and when the fit was over, he ſent for him to come back to Court. At his firſt enterview with the Dutcheſs *De Valentinois*, he found out the Myſtery of his Exile, and diſcover'd that *Dampierre* had done him that ill Office to pleaſe the Dutcheſs *De Eſtampes*, the late King's Miſtreſs, and revenge her on *Diana*; he intercepted a Letter, which the Traitor wrote to *D'Eſtampe*'s Injurious to the King's Reputation. *Diana* ſhew'd it to her Lover, and *Dampierre* was baniſh'd the King's Preſence for ever. His Majeſty finding *Coligny* was Innocent, he grew more and more in his Eſteem; and perceiving, he had by his Diſcipline brought the Infantry into great Order, the King gave him a Commiſſion to be Lieutenant Geneneral of the Horſe, to reform the Cavalry.

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He was extremely pleas'd to ſee him draw up the Army, which he often did at St. *Germains en Laye*, to inſtruct that Prince in the Military Art, of which he was the greateſt Maſter in the *French* King's Armies. *Bourdeaux* revolting for the ſame Reaſon, as *Rochelle* had done in the Reign of *Francis* I. The Conſtable march'd to reduce it, and Monſieur *De Coligny* went with him as Lieutenant General. The King came himſelf to the Camp before *Bourdeaux*, but the *Engliſh* ſupplying the Citizens with Proviſions and Ammunition, *Henry* was compell'd to buy his Peace with them, and Pardon their Revolt.

When *Coligny* return'd to *Paris*, he found his dear Friend, the Prince of *Joinville*, was Duke of *Guiſe*, and in Poſſeſſion of all his Father's Titles and Eſtate; the old Duke being lately dead. His Son thought 'twas his Intereſt to ruin *Montmerenci*'s Credit with the King, to advance his own. On this Motive he ſlacken'd his Friendſhip with the Conſtable's Nephew, who warmly eſpous'd his Uncles quarrel with the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Brother. The Cardinal endeavour'd to procure an Edict, that no Perſon ſhou'd enjoy more than one Office in the State, thereby to take from the Conſtable his Charge of *great Maſter of the King's Houſhold*. Neither the Duke of *Guiſe* nor *Coligny* made any

any ſteps to a Reconcilement, and thus by Degrees, their famous Friendſhip (that laſted five or ſix Years) turn'd into hatred, as famous, which will appear in the Courſe of this Hiſtory.

In the Year 1552. The *French* King declar'd War with the Emperor, in favour of the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*. He advanc'd towards the *Rhine*, with an Army of 80000 Men in two Bodies. The Conſtable march'd firſt with the greater, and *Henry* II. follow'd himſelf with the leſs, Monſieur *De Chaſtillon* commanded the Infantry, and ſurpriz'd the City of *Metz*. All *Lorrain* was deliver'd up to the King, who ſent the young Duke to *Paris* to be Educated, or rather to be kept as an Hoſtage, for the Poſſeſſion of his Dominions. The *French* King took *Roque de Maire* in *Luxemburgh*, and the King gave the Plunder of the City to the Conſtable, who compounded with the Inhabitants for 100000 Livres. *Damvillars* was alſo taken by Storm, and his Majeſty gave the Plunder to *Coligny*, who compounded it for 40000 Crowns, which he diſtributed among the Soldiers. The Conſtable look'd on his Generoſity, as a Reflection on his own Avarice, and reprov'd him for pretending to ſet him an Example, and deſpiſing the King's Bounty. *Coligny* did not hearken much to his Reproof, and continu'd to behave himſelf in the Exerciſe

of

of his Charge, as might Conduce moſt to the Advantage of the State, and to his own Honour. The Campaign ended with the Conqueſt of *Toul* and *Verdun*. The King return'd to *Paris* in the beginning of the Winter, and *Coligny* follow'd him, after he had ſeen his Troops in their Quarters. His Majeſty careſt him highly for his Services, and made him Admiral of *France*. The Cardinal of *Lorrain* procur'd the Edict we have mention'd, with an Exception that it ſhou'd not touch the Conſtable. But *Coligny* was oblig'd by it to part with his Office of Colonel General of the Infantry, when he Enter'd on that of Admiral: The King at his requeſt gave the Poſt he quitted to his Brother *Andelot*, who was at that time a Priſoner in *Milan*, having been taken by the *Imperialiſts* in *Italy*, where he ſerv'd ever ſince the *Engliſh* had oblig'd him to leave *Scotland*. The Governor refus'd to give him his Liberty, on Ranſome, or Exchange; and during his Confinement he had leiſure to Study the Holy Scriptures, and look into the Controverſie between the Papiſts, and the Proteſtants. He found the former had falſly given out, that the Reformation was only a Pretence for Libertiniſm; he began to think favourably of it, and to abhor the Cruelties he had ſeen practis'd on it's Profeſſors in *France*; yet neither he, nor his Brother join'd publickly

with

with the Reformers, till two or three Years after his Enlargement. The Admiral's Wife often desir'd, they might be instructed in the new Religion, to which *Coligny* at last consented.

The Protestants in *Germany* were weary of their Ally, *Henry* II. and indeed for many Centuries past, the *French* Kings have lain under the Scandal of being the worst Confederates in the World. By their fair Promises of Assistance, they have frequently engag'd other Princes to break the publick Peace, and when their own Market was made by it, left them to stand by themselves, to the Resentment of the Powers they offended. And *Lewis* XIV. does but imitate the Examples of his Predecessors of the Houses of *Valois* and *Bourbon* in abandoning his Allies, and breaking of Treaties. *Henry* II. contented himself with Marching to the Frontier, and attacking some Towns far enough off from the Countries that were the Seat of the War. Which so disgusted the *German* Princes, that they came to a Treaty with *Charles* V. and concluded a Peace on honourable Conditions. The Emperor granted all their Demands, that he might have leisure to fall on the *French* King, who repented heartily that he had provok'd him, and wou'd have given up all his Conquests to appease him.

The

The Emperor in *December* beſieg'd *Metz* with a vaſt Army, and had another of 25000 Men in *Flanders*. The Admiral deſir'd leave to throw himſelf into *Metz*, but the King had given that Poſt to the Duke of *Guiſe*, his Rival, which mortify'd *Coligny*. His Majeſty told him, to pleaſe him, he did it to keep him near his Perſon. Yet the Admiral wou'd not be ſatisfy'd, till the King made him Lieutenant General of the Army, which the Duke of *Vendome*, firſt Prince of the Blood, was to command on the Frontier of *Flanders*, to obſerve the *Imperialiſts* on that ſide. *Charles* V. loſt 20000 Men before *Metz*, and at laſt was forc'd to raiſe the Siege. The Admiral ſent a Gentleman to Complement the Duke of *Guiſe* on his Succeſs, whom the Duke receiv'd very coldly; having heard that *Coligny* ſhou'd ſay, *'Twas eaſie for him with* 15000 *Men, the beſt Troops in* France *to do what he had done*; whether the Admiral ſaid it or not, the Duke of *Guiſe* believ'd he did, which encreas'd his jealouſie and hatred. And *Coligny* was not a Man to put up the ſlighting his Complements. The Emperor fell ſick at the Siege of *Metz*, the *French* King inſtead of improving his illneſs by Preparations for War, ſpent his time in Tilts and Feſtivals. The Admiral recover'd *Heſdin* in *Artois* from the *Germans*, and the *Imperialiſts*

perialiſts diſcourag'd with their miſcarriage at *Metz*, and retir'd into Winter Quarters. The *French* did the ſame, and *Coligny* went to *Paris* in Obedience to the King's Orders. Commanding all the General Officers to aſſiſt at the Turnaments held at the Marriage of the King's Natural Daughter to the Duke of *Caſtro*. The Marquiſs *De Villequier*'s Horſe ran away with him at the Tilt by an Accident, threw his Rider, and kick'd the Admiral in his Leg, which prevented his running againſt the Duke of *Guiſe* as he intended.

In the beginning of the Year 1553. The Emperor attack'd *Terouane*, and took it by Storm, retook *Heſdin*, and order'd the Prince of *Savoy* to inveſt *Dourlens*. The Progreſs of the *Imperialiſts* alarm'd the *French* King, and he diſpatch'd away the Admiral immediately to the Frontier to put a ſtop to it, and throw Succours into the place, which he perform'd, and gathering what Troops he cou'd get together in *Picardie* and *Champagne*, advanc'd to make Head againſt the Emperor. The King came himſelf to the *French* Army, which at his arrival was increas'd to 60000 Men, the Admiral commanded it under him. On the approach of the *French*, the Prince of *Savoy* quitted his deſign on *Dourlens*, and fortify'd himſelf in his Camp. *Coligny* advis'd the King to form the Siege of *Arras*, but he was

obſtinate to attack *Cambray*, and was forc'd to raiſe the Siege, as the Emperor ſome Months before had been oblig'd to leave *Metz*. The Conſtable was ſick, and his Majeſty cou'd not truſt any Body elſe, nor dar'd undertake any thing of himſelf, without his Favourites Advice and Approbation. The next Winter he reſolv'd to be more on his Guard; he left Monſieur *De Chaſtillon* in *Picardie*, to provide for the Garriſons of that Province and *Champagne*, and to ſettle what Number of Troops was Neceſſary for their defence. He gave him the Government of *Picardie*, that lately became Vacant, and a Troop of 100 Horſe, an Honour at that time ſeldom allow'd to any except Princes of the Blood.

Henry II. open'd the Campaign in the Year 1554. with the Siege of *Marienburgh* in *Hainault*, which was chiefly manag'd by the Admiral, who in his Brother's abſence, exercis'd his Office of Colonel General of the Infantry, and puſh'd his attacks on ſo vigorouſly, that the King ſaid of him, *This is the Man I wanted, and whenever I beſiege a place, I'll always make uſe of him: Marienburgh* ſurrendred in a few Days. *Bouvines* in the County of *Namur* did the ſame, and then the *French* King lay down before *Dinant* in the Dioceſs of *Liege*. His Men ſoon brought the Town to Extremity, and having made a Breach in the Wall, propos'd to give a general

general Aſſault. *Coligny* was the only Man, who mounted the Breach, and ſeeing no Body follow'd him, he cry'd out, with much preſence of Mind to the Citizens, *Lay down your Arms, and the King will even now receive you into Mercy.* The beſieg'd perceiving his Soldiers, aſham'd of leaving him alone in ſo imminent Danger, ran to his Aſſiſtance, laid hold of his Offer, deſiring time to depute Perſons to Treat, which was granted, and yet the *French* King ſurpriz'd them, who were as they thought ſecure in the Propoſal made them by the Admiral, and gave the Plunder of the City to his Forreign Mercenaries. There are ſo many Inſtances of Infractions of Treaties, of Fraud and Violence in the Hiſtories of *France*, that there wou'd be no end of it, if we ſhou'd take notice of 'em all; what happens unavoidably in our way, may ſerve for a taſt of the Integrity and Honour of the *French* Kings, and render the Character of the preſent Monarch, who Uſurps the Title of *Le Grand*, the more Natural and Credible. The Admiral wou'd have reſented this Affront, if the Nobles of *France* had not already learn'd the ſlaviſh Doctrine, that they muſt in all Things ſubmit without murmuring to the Will of their Maſter. *Coligny* was detatch'd with a Party to Ravage and Deſtroy the Provinces of

Namur, *Hainault* and *Artois*, he executed his Commiſſion, and then join'd the Army before *Rentic*. The Admiral was of Opinion not to waſt time on that Siege, but to enter *Brabant*, and carry the Terror of their Amrs to the Gates of *Bruſſels*. A Siege, he ſaid, wou'd give the Emperor an Opportunity to Collect Forces from other Parts of his Dominions, and revenge the ſpoil committed in the *Netherlands*. The Duke of *Guiſe*, and the Majority of the Council of War were for the Siege. The Conſtable, who was recover'd of his Sickneſs directed it himſelf, and the Duke of *Guiſe* had the Command of the Troops that were to cover it, He promis'd the King to give him a good Account of the Truſt he repos'd in him, and accordingly he Poſſeſt himſelf of all the Paſſes to the *French* Camp, except by the Forreſt of *Guillaume*. The Emperor was inform'd by his Spies, that *Guiſe* either had neglected, or did not know of that Paſs. And commanded a Detachment of 2000 Men to Sieze it; which they effected in the Night, before the Duke had notice of their Approach.

When he ſaw his Error, 'twas too late, and he had no way left to recover his Fault; but to Charge the *Imperialiſts*, and drive them from the Poſt. The *Germans* kept their Ground, and the Duke was in great Danger.

ger. The Conſtable order'd his Nephew, the Admiral, to ſupport him, who beat the *Germans* out of the Wood, and diſengag'd the Duke of *Guiſe*. The Emperor ſent Supplies to the *Imperialiſts*, and theſe rallying on the *French* with freſh Numbers, and freſh Courage, forc'd them to fly in their turn. The Duke return'd to the Fight with the Cavalry, and thrice ſuſtain'd the ſhock of the *Germans*; which tir'd the Emperor with his vain Attempts to Force the *French* Lines, and drawing off his Men; he march'd away to ſecure a Poſt, which wou'd cut off Proviſions from the Enemies Camp. The Duke of *Guiſe*, and the Admiral meeting at the King's Apartment, fell into Diſcourſe of the paſt Action, *Coligny* ſeem'd to reflect on the Duke for omitting or neglecting, to poſſeſs himſelf of the Paſs by the Forreſt. The Duke ſwore, and ſaid, *You will not pretend to Rob me of my Honour*, *No*, ſays the Admiral, ſullenly. The Duke reply'd, *You cannot*, *Sir*. And threats paſſing on both Sides, the King as ſoon as it came to his Knowledge, commanded them to Embrace, and be Friends. This Accident helpt to encreaſe their Enmity, and at laſt it became Mortal. The Emperor's deſign to ſtreighten the *French* Camp ſucceeded. *Henry* offer'd *Charles* the Vth Battel, who having done what he deſir'd to do, avoided it, and forc'd him to raiſe the

Siege of *Rentie*. The King left the Army with the Duke of *Vendome*, and return'd to *Paris*. The Duke of *Guiſe* went away with him, being unwilling to obey *Vendome*. The Conſtable advis'd *Coligny* to ſtay, and offer his Service to that Prince, who began to take Umbrage at the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Ambition and Power. *Guiſe* had lately ſtrengthen'd his Intereſt at Court, by marrying his younger Brother to a Daughter of the King's Miſtreſs. *Montmerenci* politickly ſet his Nephew on ingratiating himſelf with the Duke of *Vendome*, to fortifie his Family with the Authority of a Prince of the Blood, againſt the Inſolence of the Houſe of *Lorrain*. *Vendome* took *Coligny*'s offer ſo well, that to confirm his new Friendſhip to him, he propos'd a Match between his Brother, the Prince of *Conde*, and the Admiral's Neice, the Counteſs *De Roye*'s Daughter, which was brought to effect; tho' the *Guiſes*, and the Dutcheſs of *Valentinois* mightily oppos'd it. The Duke of *Vendome*'s Army was not ſtrong enough to fight the *Imperialiſts*, and the Emperor threaten'd to Invade *Picardie*. Monſieur *De Chaſtillon* obſerv'd the *Germans* ſo narrowly, that their Numbers were of no Advantage to them, and the *French* King to reward his Vigilance, Fidelity and Valour, made him Governor of the Iſle of *France*.

In

In 1556. The King came in Progreſs to *Picardie*, one of the Admiral's Governments: *Coligny* entertain'd his Majeſty, and the whole Court. The Emperor had lately agreed to a Truce of five Years, which was the Admiral's Propoſal, when the Mediators, the Queen of *England*'s Ambaſſadors cou'd not come to Terms for a Peace. The Court diverted themſelves for ſometime in *Picardie*, and here another Accident happen'd to widen the Breach, between *Coligny* and the Duke of *Guiſe*. Two Gentlemen pray'd the King to give 'em leave to decide a Quarrel by Combat, which he granted. The Duke of *Guiſe*, as having always been above the Admiral in Command, pretended to be Judge of the Fight, which place belong'd to *Coligny* as Governor of the Province; and the diſpute being refer'd to the King, he decided it for the Admiral.

Charles the Vth. ſoon after the Truce reſign'd his Imperial and Royal Authority, to his Brother *Ferdinand*, and his Son *Philip*. The former had the Empire, and his Territories in *Germany*, and *Philip* II. the Kingdom of *Spain*, and the Dominions annex'd to that Crown, with the Sovereignty of the *Netherlands*. The Emperor himſelf retir'd into a Monaſtery in *Spain*, either fearing to loſe the Fame he had acquir'd by his many Victories, and to truſt Fortune any longer,

or repenting of the Evil he had been the Cauſe of in *Germany*. 'Twas reported by ſome Hiſtorians, that he left the World out of juſt Sorrow, for the Blood he ſpilt on Account of Religion.

The Duke of *Guiſe*, and the Princes of *Lorrain*, Men of Traiterous and Bloody Principles, unworthy the Rank they held in the World, whoſe Courage was Cruelty, and their Ambition inſupportable Pride; Perſons fit to Contrive and proſecute the Helliſh *League*, to Extirpate the Proteſtants of *France*, and to be *Authors* of the *Horrid Maſſacre* of *Paris*. Theſe perſwaded the *French* King, that now was the Time to recover from the Houſe of *Auſtria*, what *Charles* the Vth. had raviſh'd from him in *Italy*. The Conſtable and the Admiral advis'd him not to break the Truce. But Pope *Paul* IV. joining with the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and the *Guiſes*, to bring him into the Confederacy with his Holineſs, and other *Italian* Princes, to drive the *Germans* and *Spaniards* out of *Italy*, *Henry* II. declar'd himſelf Head of the League, and contrary to his Oath; broke the five Years Truce lately ſworn between the Emperor and Him. The Pope inſtigated him to it, to revenge himſelf on *Philip* II. for protecting the *Coloneſi* his Enemies. He was alſo offended that *Ferdinand* ſhou'd dare to aſſume the Title of Emperor without his conſent, who

who us'd to ſay, *That all Kingdoms were ſubject to him, that he wou'd ſuffer no Prince to be too familiar with him, and that he wou'd ſet the World on Fire, rather than be drawn to do any thing below his Dignity.* He was of the Family of *Caraffa, the moſt Extravagant, Ambitious Inſolent Pope*, ſays the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, that had reign'd of a great while. We ſhall conclude our Digreſſion in the Biſhop's own words in his *Hiſtory* of the *Reformation. It gave great Scandal to the World to ſee the Pope ſet on ſo perfidious a Breach of Truce, and it was thought ſtrange that in the ſame Year, a great Prince in the 56th Year of his Age, ſhou'd retire to a Monaſtery, and that one* Bred *a Monk, at* 80 *Years Old, ſhou'd ſet* Europe *in a Flame.*

In 1557. The Duke of *Guiſe* march'd to the Borders of *Italy* with a Potent Army, the Flower of the *French* Troops, another was ſent into *Flanders.* Commanded, in the Conſtable's Abſence, by the Admiral, his Nephew. The Duke of *Savoy* was at the Head of King *Philip*'s Army, which was not ſtrong enough to give the *French* Battel. *Coligny* ſpoil'd and plunder'd *Artois.* The Duke of *Savoy* haſten'd the coming up of more Forces, and in a little while his Army was more Numerous than *Coligny*'s; whoſe Troops beſides, were not the beſt in *France.* The Admiral retir'd in time

into

into his Government of *Picardie*, and ſtood on the Defenſive. The Duke of *Savoy* receiv'd an Additional ſtrength of 8000 *Engliſh*, follow'd him into *France*, and lay down before St. *Quentin* with an Army of 50000 Men. The Admiral threw himſelf into the Place with 1000 Foot; he found it ill provided of Neceſſaries and Ammunition; he took an Inventary of both, and ſettled the Allowance of every Soldier; he repair'd the Works, and defended himſelf to the laſt, with equal Courage and Conduct. His Brother *Andelot*, who had his Liberty by the Truce, got into the Town with 500 Soldiers, and he hop'd by the Aſſiſtance of theſe freſh Men to hold out till relief came. The Conſtable attempting to relieve his Nephew was beaten, himſelf and all the general Officers were taken Priſoners. The Duke of *Savoy* ſent a Trumpet to acquaint *Coligny* with the Conſtable's Misfortune: Whoſe defeat was the greateſt, the *Spaniards* ever gave the *French*, yet the Admiral held out ſtill, expecting the Duke of *Nevers*, who commanded another Army, wou'd rally his Uncle's ſcatter'd Troops, and compel the *Spaniards* to raiſe the Siege. *Nevers* try'd all the ways he cou'd think of to throw Succours into the Place, but was prevented in all of them, and adviſ'd the Admiral to make the beſt Terms

Terms he cou'd. *Philip* in Perſon brought a Reinforcement of 10000 Men, to the Army before St. *Quentin*, and having made a large Breach in the Walls, while his Men were in Heart, he ſtorm'd and carry'd it; whatever the Admiral by his Example, or his Prayers cou'd ſay or do to oppoſe him. *Coligny* and his Brother's Lives were ſpar'd, the reſt of the Garriſon were put to the Sword. *Andelot* eſcap'd out of Priſon the next Day, and poſted away to the King to ſatisfie him, how well the Admiral behav'd himſelf, and that had his Men done their Duty, the Garriſon had been ſav'd without ſurrendring, which *Coligny*'s Enemies remonſtrated to his Majeſty, he ought to have done.

The Admiral was remov'd to *L'Eſcluſe* in *Flanders*, and there confin'd. The Duke of *Savoy* made himſelf Maſter of ſeveral Towns on the Frontiers, and had he improv'd his Victory, might have led his Arms to the Gates of *Paris*. *Coligny* was taken violently ill of a Fever in Priſon, and 'twas during this Indiſpoſition, that his Brother found means to convey ſuch Books to him, as convinc'd him of the Errors and Idolatry of the Romiſh Faith and Worſhip, and converted him to the true Religion. His Lady had been a Proteſtant ſome time, and ow'd her Converſion to the Prayers and Inſtruction of Mr. *Maſſon*, the firſt Proteſtant

ſtant Miniſter that Preach'd in *Paris*. The *Spaniards* diſcover'd *Coligny*'s Correſpondence with the *Hugonots*, and intercepted ſome of the Books that were ſent him; yet they rather incourag'd, than prevented it. In hopes that he wou'd raiſe future Troubles in *France*, in favour of the new Religion, which began to ſpread there among the *Nobleſs*. *Andelot* had alſo the Honour to convert his eldeſt Brother, *Odet de Chaſtillon*, tho' cloath'd with the Roman Purple, and a Prince of the Church.

The Duke of *Guiſe*, who had been unfortunate in *Italy*, was commanded to leave his Army, and put himſelf at the Head of that in *Picardie*. *Guiſe* knowing 'twas his Intereſt to keep the Conſtable, and the Admiral in Priſon, took little care for their Deliverance, he rather hinder'd than forwarded it, and maliciouſly accus'd them to the King that both the one, and the other had ruin'd themſelves through their ill Conduct.

On the 1ſt of *January*, the Duke of *Guiſe* ſet down before *Calais*. The Lord *Wentworth* had but 500 Men in Garriſon, and cou'd not ſpare enough to Man the two Forts, which defended the Avenues to it, by Sea and by Land. Theſe Forts were eaſily taken, and the *French* having drain'd the Ditches, took the Caſtle by Storm, which was thought impregnable; the Town preſently

ſently after ſurrender'd. Thus was this important Place, which the *Engliſh* had kept 210 Years, loſt in a Week, and that in Winter. *Guiſnes* and *Hammes* Caſtles follow'd the Fortune of *Calais*. By the taking of thoſe Places the *Engliſh* loſt their footing on the Continent, and 'tis all that the Nation, got by Queen *Mary*'s Alliance with *Spain*, and her *Popiſh* Adminiſtration. She was too much taken up at Home in burning her own Subjects, to mind the Intereſt of her Crown Abroad. Shame and Sorrow for the Loſs of *Calais*, ſtuck ſo cloſe to her, that it ſeiz'd her Heart, and haſten'd her to her Grave. After her Death, King *Philip* her Husband, and Ally inclin'd to hearken to Propoſals of Peace. The *French* King was the more willing to put an end to the War, ſeeing the Duke of *Guiſe* grown Inſolent on the Merit of his Services. To humble him, *Henry* diſpatch'd full Power to the Conſtable to conclude a Peace. The *Guiſe*'s beleiv'd there was nothing to which they might not pretend, the *Dauphin* having marry'd the *Scots* Queen, their Neice. And the Conſtable finding he cou'd never have his Liberty, but by a Peace, deſir'd *Granvall*, Governor of the *Netherlands*, to permit him on his *Parole* to go to his Maſter, and uſe his endeavours to bring him to Terms more Advantageous for *Spain*, to which *Granvall* conſented. The

Conſtable ſoon remov'd all Objections, rais'd by the *Guiſes*, his Enemies, and was ſo well receiv'd by the King, that he wou'd have him lye with him, the very Night he came to Court. *Montmerenci*, that all the blame might not lye on himſelf, prevail'd with *Henry* to join the Cardinal of *Lorrain* in Commiſſion with him. The Treaty was held at *Cambray*, and concluded the next Year. *Granvall* told the Cardinal of *Lorrain* of the Heretical Correſpondence, *Andelot* had with his Brother, and *Lorrain* acquainted the *French* King with it, who immediately commanded *Andelot* to attend him, and ask'd him what he thought of the Maſs. *Andelot* did not in the leaſt play the Hypocrite, he confeſt his belief, and was arreſted. *Monluc*, a Creature of the *Guiſes*, had him in keeping, which gave Reaſon for Suſpicions, that there was more revenge in his Impriſonment, than Religion.

By the Peace of *Cambray*, Admiral *Coligny* had his Liberty, the King paying 50000 Crowns for his Ranſom. He blam'd his Brother's Carriage before his Majeſty. Not that he condemn'd him for ſpeaking Truth, but for not conſidering that ſo free a Confeſſion wou'd be prejudicial to the Proteſtant Intereſt in *France*. *Granvall* engaged *Lorrain* to ſet the King on Perſecuting his Subjects of the reform'd Religion, an Edict was publiſh'd to burn alive

alive all that were guilty of what they call'd *Hereſy*, and becauſe ſome Counſellors of the Parliament of *Paris*, refus'd to Vote for its being regiſter'd; they were the firſt that were Impriſon'd. The King went himſelf to the Palace, Bully'd the Parliament into a Compliance, had his Edict paſt in form, and threaten'd to make the Counſellors, who oppos'd it, the firſt, that ſuffer'd by it. The *Guiſes* were impatient to ſee how *Coligny* wou'd demean himſelf in this Affair. The Admiral did not think fit to declare openly for the Proteſtants; he trim'd as much as his Conſcience wou'd let him, diſown'd his Brother's Confeſſion to the King, and reprov'd him for it, both in Publick and Private, *Anne de Bourg*, a Perſon of Quality, and a Counſellor of the Parliament of *Paris*, was the moſt Zealous of all that Aſſembly for the reform'd Religion. Him, the *Guiſes* reſolv'd to make an Example, he was Impriſon'd, try'd and condemn'd to be burnt; but before Execution *Henry* the IId. was kill'd, by the Count *de Montgomery* at a Tilt which he order'd to be held in Honour of his Son, the *Dauphin*'s Marriage, with *Mary* Queen of the *Scots*.

Francis the IId. ſucceeded his Father *Henry*. The Brothers of the Houſe of *Guiſe* join'd in preſently with the Queen Regent, *Catherine de Medicis*, and in the begin-

beginning of her Adminiſtration, the Conſtable and the Admiral were diſmiſt the Court.

The Admiral bore his diſgrace better than his Uncle, he retir'd to *Chaſtillon*, and in the leiſure of that Retreat, perfected himſelf in the Knowledge of the Faith, he had lately profeſt in private. The Martyrdom of *Anne de Bourg* was an alarm to the Proteſtants of *France*, and his Death put 'em on Conſultations, how to prevent the ſame uſage for themſelves; they were all extreamly concern'd for that Gentleman, and none more than Madame *de Chaſtillon*, whom the Admiral lov'd tenderly, and who had a great Power over him: She continually remonſtrated to him, that all the Righteous Blood that was ſpilt, wou'd lye at his door, unleſs he endeavour'd to put a ſtop to ſuch Cruelty, and took the Proteſtant Cauſe into his Protection. Her Arguments work'd on his Reaſon and Affection, and together with his Brother *Andelot*'s Perſwaſions, ſet him on contriving to form a Party to make Head againſt the *Guiſes*, the moſt bloody Perſecutors that ever liv'd in the Chriſtian World.

He firſt endeavour'd to get over the Prince of *Conde* to their ſide, and ſhewing him 'twas his Intereſt to ruin the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Faction, that Prince declar'd for the Pro-

Proteſtants, tho' he never left his *Popiſh* Morals, and continu'd his *Miſtreſſes* in the midſt of the Miniſters, whom he took for his Chaplains. Then the Admiral calculated the ſtrength of his Party, and found there were two Millions of Souls of the reform'd Religion in *France*, which embolden'd him in his Proceedings, and now he went openly to his Lady's Chappel.

The Queen Regent, who did not very well like the manner with which the *Guiſes* treated her, ſent him word, that the King was inform'd he had chang'd his Religion. Yet ſhe wou'd notwithſtanding provide for his ſafety, and not let him be expos'd to the ſeverity of the late Edicts. She did it to engage him on her ſide, and at the ſame time ſhe acquainted the Conſtable for the ſame Reaſon, that he might depend on her Protection. The *Guiſes* put the Edict in force, that no Perſon ſhou'd enjoy more than one Office, and the Conſtable was oblig'd to part with that of *Great Maſter of the Houſe-hold*; and the Admiral with his Government, which were both given to Creatures of the *Guiſes*. The Duke and his Brothers preſuming on their Relation to the *Scots* Queen, neglected the Queen Mother, who in revenge wrote to the Admiral to free her, and her Son, the King, from the Tyranny of the Houſe of *Guiſe*. *Coligny* conſulted with the Prince of *Conde*

and *Andelot*, what they ſhou'd do in the matter, and they reſolv'd to demand of the King Liberty of Conſcience, which the Queen wou'd grant, if ſhe were real in her hatred of the Princes of *Lorrain*, and they ſhou'd do a ſignal Service to the Reformation. The Admiral diſpatch'd Monſieur *Renaudie* to the Churches on the other ſide of the *Loire*, to learn what Number of Forces they cou'd bring into the Field, and what Cities wou'd declare for them. *Renaudie* brought back a Scheme of their Strength, and when he had communicated it to the Prince of *Conde*, they agreed to depute Perſons to preſent the demands of the Proteſtants to the King, and Queen Regent. The latter receiv'd them graciouſly, the King, govern'd by the *Guiſes*, was for Fire and Faggot, and wou'd hear of nothing that was Moderate and Merciful, and the Admiral ſaw there was no Way left for him, and his Party to be ſafe, but to take Arms. His Lady took hold of this Opportunity, fell on her Knees, and pray'd him to defend the Proteſtants, their diſtreſt Brethren; the whole Kingdom being in a Blaze with Flames kindled to deſtroy them. The Prince of *Conde* and *Andelot* were of the ſame Opinion, whoſe Judgment, and his Wife's Entreaties overcame his Conſtancy, and he at laſt drew his Sword in the juſt defence of two Millions of Souls,

Souls, who were devoted to Deſtruction by the Duke of *Guiſe*, and his Faction.

Coligny order'd Mr. *Renaudie* with a ſelect Party to march directly to *Blois*, where the King then was, to ſeize him and the *Guiſes*, in the Name of the Queen Regent. Thoſe Princes had notice of his Deſign, and remov'd the young King to *Amboiſe*; they alſo detach'd ſeveral Companies of the Guards to ſurprize *Renaudie* at the Place of Rendezvous, who falling on the Proteſtants, murder'd the greateſt part of them, and hung up the reſt without Trial. This was the firſt act of Hoſtility committed in *France* on account of Religion. Some of the Priſoners before they were Executed, were put to the Torture, yet not one of 'em confeſt, that either the Prince of *Conde* or the Admiral knew of their Intention. The *Guiſes* were heartily vex'd, that they were balkt in their Diſcoveries. A little while after they found out by intercepted Letters, Crimes enough to take off the Prince, and the Admiral by Law, if they cou'd have come at them. The Queen Regent advis'd them to come to Court, and vindicate themſelves to the King, promiſing ſhe wou'd anſwer for their Safety. On the Security of her Royal Word, they came both to *Amboiſe*, and juſtify'd themſelves to be Innocent of *Renaudie*'s Con-

ſpiracy The Prince of *Conde* gave the Lie to whomever dar'd accuſe him of Correſponding with the Rebels: The Admiral and his Brother were as bold, as if they had been guiltleſs. The Queen Regent bad them talk in that tone to mortifie the *Guiſes*, who perceiving they cou'd not hurt them, pretended to be ſatisfy'd of their Innocence.

Catherine de Medicis at the bottom, rather inclin'd to be reconcil'd to the Duke of *Guiſe*, and his Brothers, than to depend on the Admiral, and his Friends. To this end ſhe ſent Monſieur *de Chaſtillon* out of the way to quell an Inſurrection in *Normandy*; the People of that Province like thoſe of *Rochel* and *Bourdeaux*, cou'd not endure the Burthen of Exorbitant Taxes, and the Cruelty of the Papiſts, without making one effort to recover their ancient Liberty. But 'twas too late; the *French* had been already for one hundred Years, us'd to live under Kings, whoſe Arbitrary Wills were the Meaſure of their Government, and Cuſtom even ſo long ago had made Slavery natural to them. Before *Coligny* left *Amboiſe*, he demanded of the King Liberty of Conſcience for his Proteſtant Subjects, which the Queen aſſur'd the Prince of *Conde* and himſelf ſhou'd be granted, yet all he cou'd obtain at preſent was a ſtop to be put to any farther Proceedings againſt them.

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In *Normandy* he ſettled all Things in Peace, and the Proteſtants, who obey'd him Implicitely, by his advice contented themſelves not to go publickly to their *Meetings*, ſince it gave offence to the Papiſts, till the late Edicts were repeal'd. Having done his Buſineſs in that Province, he addreſs'd himſelf to the Queen Regent to perform her Promiſe. She prevaricated with him, and was as great with the *Guiſes* as ever, upon which the Admiral in diſcontent retir'd to *Chaſtillon*. This Reconciliation was not long liv'd, thoſe Princes were intolerably Preſumptuous, and the Queen cou'd not bear to have her Authority divided, ſo ſhe again apply'd to the Admiral, who wou'd not hearken to her, unleſs ſhe wou'd order the Eſtates of the Kingdom to meet: By whom he expected to be deliver'd, from the Oppreſſion of the Duke of *Guiſe*, and his Family. She conſented to his Propoſition, and firſt Summon'd the *Nobleſs* to *Fontainbleau*, where the Admiral ſupported by the Queen Regent, and the whole Proteſtant Intereſt in *France*, preſented a Petition to the King on his Knees, 'twas call'd, *A Petition of thoſe People, who Pray to God according to the True Rules of Piety.* When the Secretary read the Title, the Courtiers murmur'd, the King commanded Silence, and heard it out. The Subſtance was to have an end of the

Fiery Perſecution. His Majeſty referr'd the matter to the Biſhops.

The Biſhop of *Valence* ſpoke favourably of the Reformers, ſo did the Arch Biſhop of *Vienne*. Yet nothing was done in their behalf. They ſpent their time in Diſputes and Quarrels, which provok'd the Queen to diſſolve the Aſſembly, and ſummon the Eſtates to meet the 10th of *December* 1560. The Admiral in the King's preſence preſſing for Liberty of Conſcience, ſaid, *he deſir'd it in the Name of* 50000 *Noblemen and Gentlemen.* The Duke of *Guiſe* reply'd, *And I will bring* 100000 *good Catholicks to oppoſe them.* When the Eſtates met, they were ſo divided, that their Seſſion was to as little effect as that of the *Nobleſs*. A Ceſſation of the Burnings throughout the Kingdom was agreed to; but this pleas'd neither Papiſts nor Proteſtants. The *Guiſes* thought it too much, and the Admiral too little. The King of *Navar*, countenancing the Proteſtant Party, very much increas'd it, and the *Guiſes* to ruin them at once, reſolv'd to ſeize the Chiefs of them at *Orleans*, when they came to aſſiſt at an Aſſembly of the *Nobleſs*, who were to ſit there. The King of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Conde* and the Admiral, had Information of the Plot. Yet believing they had the Majority in the Aſſembly, and that none wou'd dare to offer them any violence in the preſence of ſo Auguſt a Body with-

without their conſent. They went to perform their duty at that Seſſion. *Conde* was ſecur'd as ſoon as he arriv'd. The King of *Navarre* and the Admiral were ſo ſtrictly obſerv'd, that their Liberty was little better than a Priſon. The Prince was Try'd, and ſeveral Witneſſes prov'd that he was concern'd in *Renaudies* Rebellion, for which he was Condemn'd to be Beheaded, but before the Sentence could be executed, *Francis* the 2d fell deſperately ill; and the Chancellor hearing by *Ambroſe Parry*, the King's Chief *Chyrurgion*, and a Proteſtant, whom the Admiral had directed to ſay ſo, that His Majeſty wou'd not live, refus'd to ſign the Warrant which confirm'd the Judgment of the Court, tho he himſelf was Preſident of it. He knew 'twas dangerous to have a hand in it; the Prince of *Conde* being a Prince of the Blood, and feigning himſelf ſo Sick that he could not read the Sentence, he put it off till *Francis* dy'd, and was ſucceeded by his Brother *Charles* the IXth. in the beginning of the Year 1561. The King of *Navarre* was declar'd *Lieutenant General of the Crown*, and the Conſtable appear'd again at the *Louvre*. *Navarre* remembring ſome old Affronts, he had receiv'd formerly from *Montmerenci*, procur'd an Edict of Reſumption of all Grants made by *Henry* the 2d and *Francis* the 2d. The Conſtable who Lov'd Money immoderately, and loſt

400000 Livres by the Reſumption, joyn'd in with the *Guiſes* his old Enemies, whom the Edict had diſpleas'd as much as *Montmerenci*. The Duke of *Guiſe*, the Conſtable, and the Mareſchal *de St. Andre*, enter'd into a Confederacy, and ſign'd an agreement to ſtand by one another in *rooting out Hereticks*. The Queen Regent grew jealous of the *League*, and treated with the Admiral to maintain herſelf in the Regency by his Aſſiſtance. *Coligny* wou'd engage with her on no Terms, tho ſhe offer'd him every thing he cou'd deſire on his own account; unleſs ſhe wou'd put forth an Edict for Liberty of Conſcience. He ſet before her how inconſiderable her Power would be, if the New *Triumvirate* went on in their Confederacy, and that there were no means ſo likely to break it as the Indulgence he propos'd for the Proteſtants. She at laſt conſented to it, and got the King to ſign the Edict, before the League ſuſpected the matter.

'Tis impoſſible to Expreſs how Welcome this Tolleration was to the Reformers, they lookt on the Admiral as their Guardian Angel, and tho' the King of *Navarre* had the Title of their *Head*. *Coligny* was reſpected as their Protector, they apply'd to him with all their Complaints, and he politickly put them off to *Navarre*, fearing that Prince wou'd not like the Subjection which the

the *Hugonots* were in to his Councel and Authority. This Preference of the Admiral to the King of *Navarre* was ſo diſagreable to him, that againſt his true Intereſt to continue on the Proteſtants ſide he abandon'd their Cauſe, and Headed the League to deſtroy them, being tempted to it by hopes of Marrying the Queen of the *Scots*, Widow of *Francis* the 2d. and that the King of *Spain* wou'd reſtore him to the Kingdom of *Navarre*, which belong'd to him in Right of his Wife *Jeanne de Albret*. He was of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, Duke of *Venſdome*, and firſt Prince of the Blood, and having Marry'd the Heir of the Houſe of *Albret*, had a juſt Title to the Crown of *Navarre*, of which the *Spaniards* had lately diſpoſſeſs'd him.

The Admiral found out the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Correſponding with the Catholick King, and apprehended his Agent in his return to *Paris* from *Madrid* diſguis'd like a Pilgrim. *Guiſe* was in deſpair at the diſcovery of the Treaſon, and ſeeing the Admiral in ſuch Favour with the Queen Regent, that ſhe granted him another Edict more advantagious to the Proteſtants than the former, permitting their Miniſters to Preach in the Suburbs of *Paris*, He left the Court. *Coligny* to fortify himſelf Abroad as well as his Enemies, ſent his Brother *Andelot* to Treat with the *German* Princes of the

the Reform'd Religion, and *Briquemart* to implore Aid of the Queen of *England*. While theſe Treaties were on foot in Forreign Parts, the Troubles were begun at Home by the Duke of *Guiſe*, who returning from *Ioinville* to *Paris* in his way Butcher'd 60 Proteſtants at *Vaſſi*, a ſmall Town in *Champagne*, where thoſe innocent People were ſinging Pſalms, and Worſhipping God according to the Liberty of the late Edicts. The Admiral complain'd of it to the King of *Navarre*, who not only refus'd to do Juſtice on the Murderer, but publickly declar'd the *Hugonots* were too Inſolent. The Duke of *Guiſe* conſcious of his Guilt, and apprehenſive that the Proteſtants wou'd revenge the Death of their maſſacred Brethren, carry'd off the King from *Fontainbleau* to *Melun*, and from thence under a Guard of 1500 Horſe intended to remove him to *Paris*, which City were as fond of him as averſe to their Governor the Mareſchal *de Montmerenci*, who, notwithſtanding he was a Papiſt, ſided with the Prince of *Conde*, out of Hatred to the Duke of *Guiſe*. As ſoon as that Prince heard of the Force upon the King's Perſon, he advis'd the Admiral of it, and deſir'd him to meet him at St. *Cloud* with what Strength he cou'd get together. The Queen Regent alſo wrote to him, begging him to haſten to free the King, and her ſelf, from their Captivity, for ſhe cou'd not think

think her ſelf free in the hands of the *Guiſes*. The Admiral Summon'd 1500 Gentlemen to accompany him on Horſeback to St. *Cloud*, where the Prince of *Conde* expected him with 2500, and from thence they march'd towards *Paris* to Intercept the Duke of *Guiſe* if he offer'd to carry the King thither; but *Guiſe* proceeded with ſo much Diligence and Secrecy, that having paſt the Wood of *Vincennes*, he Conducted the King ſafely to the *Louvre*.

Thus commenc'd the firſt War in *France* between the Papiſts and Proteſtants in the year 1562. The latter ſeiz'd *Orleans*, *Bourges*, *Lyons*, *Vienne*, *Valence*, *Niſmes*, *Montauban* and *Roan*. The *Pariſians* were ſo ſtreightned by *Roan* on the *Seine*, and *Orleans* on the *Loire*, that they repented they had receiv'd the Duke of *Guiſe*. The *Huguonots* choſe the Prince of *Conde* for their General, and the Admiral for his Lieutenant. *Coligny* publiſh'd ſeveral orders for the diſcipline of his Troops, which were very neceſſary in a Civil War.

To ſecure *Normandy*; *Havre de Grace* was put into the hands of the *Engliſh*, and the Earl of *Warwick* with 6000 Soldiers took poſſeſſion of it for Queen *Elizabeth*; part of thoſe Troops was ſent to Garriſon *Diepe*, and the Queen of *England* lent *Coligny* 200000 Crowns in Money, towards carrying on the War againſt the *Guiſes* her Enemies and his.

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Languedoc and *Dauphine* almoſt entirely declar'd for the Prince of *Conde* and the Admiral; and the *Hugonots* had never ſo fair a proſpect to a happy Settlement as now, had not their Natural Tendency to a ſlaviſh Subjection to their Kings, diſpos'd them to accept of the firſt offers of Pardon and Peace.

The Queen Mother finding her Authority to diminiſh during theſe Commotions, wiſh'd them at an end, and the *Guiſes* ſeem'd inclin'd to an Accommodation. Their readineſs to treat, was a pretence to divide the Proteſtants, and ruin a Party which they had flatter'd themſelves, cou'd not ſubſiſt without the King of *Navarre*. They were miſtaken to their coſt, and ſince they were not ſtrong enough to beat the *Hugonots*, They hop'd they ſtill might be cunning enough to betray them. The Queen Invited the Prince of *Conde* to a Perſonal Treaty. She wou'd not mention it to the Admiral, knowing he was too well acquainted with the Diſſimulation and Treachery of his Adverſaries to truſt them. The Prince Communicated her Propoſals to *Coligny*; intimating, that the King of *Navarre* had promis'd to be anſwerable for his Safety, that the Terms were Honourable; for beſides Liberty of Conſcience, the Proteſtants were to keep ſome Towns for their ſecurity. The Admiral endeavour'd to convince *Conde*, that he

he wou'd be deceiv'd, if he had any dependance on the Regents Promiſes, or that ſhe wou'd ever be brought to conſent to Baniſh the *Guiſes*, That ſhe was in as much fear of the King of *Navarre*, as of thoſe Princes, imagining while ſhe play'd the one againſt the other, ſhe ſhou'd preſerve her Power, and muſt content herſelf with the name of Regent only, if either the Duke of *Guiſe* or the King of *Navarre* had no Enemy to oppoſe them. The Prince of *Conde* had hitherto govern'd Himſelf in all things by the Admiral's Opinion. Yet in this he was Obſtinate, and cou'd not be perſwaded from the Perſonal Treaty; ſo with a ſmall Guard he parted for *Baugenci*, the place the Queen Mother, and the King of *Navarre* were to meet him at. *Coligny* ſaid nothing to the Prince of his intention, but follow'd him at a diſtance, and not far from *Baugenci*, he was inform'd, that the *Guiſes* had Trayterouſly ſeiz'd the Town, and told the Queen Regent and the King of *Navarre*, that unleſs they wou'd be thought Accomplices in the *Hugonots* Rebellion, they muſt not oppoſe their ſecuring the Chief *Rebel*. While the Matter was in diſpute, the Admiral appear'd with a ſtrong Party of Horſe. And the *Guiſes* excus'd themſelves, pretending they ſaid it, ſeeing ſuch a conſiderable Detachment approaching. The Prince thank'd *Coligny* for his care of him, and confeſt his Error,

Error. The Admiral made himſelf Maſter of *Baugenci*, and his Friends were as Fortunate in the Remote Provinces. He wou'd have been infinitely pleas'd with theſe Succeſſes at another time, but the Death of his eldeſt Son, whom he intended next Year to bring into the Army, very much diſturb'd his Joy; 'twas a terrible loſs to him, and he had need of all his Courage to go thro' with it: Yet after a little Reflexion, he reſign'd himſelf to the Will of God, and wrote a Letter of Condolance to his Lady full of Sentiments, equally Tender and Religious. The Parliament of *Paris* at the Inſtigation of the Duke of *Guiſe* declar'd him guilty of High Treaſon; and to leave Room for the Prince of *Conde* to come in, and forſake his Friend, they left him out of their Declaration. *Coligny* look'd on it as the Judgment of a Party, who when they had a Majority of their ſide, cou'd procure a Man to be declar'd a Traitor or otherwiſe, according as it ſerv'd a turn, and deſpiſing their Sentence, prepar'd to defend himſelf.

He appointed a Gentleman, in whom he cou'd confide, an honeſt Man, and Zealous for Religion, to be Treaſurer of the Proteſtant Armies, himſelf Audited the Accounts of the Monies receiv'd and paid. The Prince of *Conde* had 100000 Livres a Year ſettled on him, but neither the Admiral, nor his Brother *Andelot*, wou'd accept of a Pen-

Penſion, or any other Conſideration, for the loſſes he ſuſtain'd in the War; tho' his damages by the Papiſts rifling his Caſtle at *Chaſtillon*, amounted to above 100000 Crowns. To amuſe the *Hugonots*, the *Guiſes* once more ſeem'd to be willing to Treat. The Admiral was ſo far prevail'd upon by the Perſwaſions of the Queen Regent, that he truſted himſelf with her to receive Propoſitions for an Accommodation. Both *Coligny*, and the Prince of *Conde*, wou'd hearken to no Terms, leſs than the Baniſhment of the Princes of *Lorrain*. To which the King of *Navarre* wou'd not conſent, and without it the Proteſtants cou'd not be ſecure. The *Guiſes* had promis'd *Navarre*, that in Caſe he ſtood by them; they wou'd get the King of *Spain* to reſtore him to his Kingdom, or give him *Sardinia* in Exchange. The Regent offer'd no violence to the Prince of *Conde*, nor the Admiral, tho' ſhe had them both in her Power, not that ſhe bore 'em any good Will, but ſhe fear'd, if ſhe had ſeiz'd them, and not ſuffer'd them to return to their Army, the Duke of *Guiſe* and his Brothers wou'd have Lorded it over her more than ever. After the Treaty was broken off, the two Parties prepar'd to decide the quarrel by the Sword. The Cities that had join'd with the Proteſtants, were at ſuch diſtance they cou'd not help each other when they were attack'd.

tack'd, Thus moſt of their Towns in *Normandy* were loſt, *Roan* held out after the other Towns were reduc'd. The Governor, the Count *de Montgomery*, who kill'd *Henry* the IId. knowing there were no hopes of Mercy for him, if he fell into the Hands of his Enemies. The King of *Navarre* did his utmoſt to perſwade his Brother, the Prince of *Conde*, to a ſeperate Treaty: And *Coligny* having ſome intimation of his Practices with him, kept him ſteady to the laſt by ſhowing him, that he muſt always Live in Subjection to the Will of his Brother, if he was not ſupported by the Proteſtants; an Argument that weigh'd more with him, than the juſtice of his Cauſe. *Navarre* finding he cou'd not bring him off by fair means, put himſelf at the Head of the Popiſh Army, and reſolv'd to manage the War in Perſon. He attack'd *Bourges*, and took it. *Conde* not being ſtrong enough to force his Lines. From thence, to oblige the *Pariſians*, he march'd to *Roan*, and puſh'd on that Siege, where he was kill'd in the Trenches; he was neither good Catholick, nor good Hugonot, and neither ſide lamented him. On his Death, the Duke of *Guiſe* had the chief Command, and continu'd the Siege. *Montgomery* reſolutely defended himſelf, till the *Guiſards* had made a Breach in the Walls, and were ready to give the Aſſault; he then took Boat, and eſcap'd

eſcap'd to *Havre de Grace*, to avoid the *Guiſes* Revenge and Cruelty. The Duke grew ſo intolerably inſolent on this Conqueſt, that the Queen Regent to mortifie him, ſent for the Conſtable from *Chantilli*, where he ſometime ſince retir'd in diſguſt, to take on him the Command of the Army, as belonging to his Office. The Duke of *Guiſe* was ſo well belov'd by the Papiſts, for his inveteracy towards the Proteſtants, and the horrid Slaughter he had committed amongſt them, that he ſtill had the Power in effect, tho' the Conſtable enjoy'd it in Appearance. During theſe Revolutions at the Court and Camp, the Prince of *Conde*'s Army, reinforc'd with 7000 *Germans*, took *Eſtampes*, and threatned *Paris*. The Conſtable fearing the Prince correſponded with the Citizens, and that it might be dangerous to let him ſtay long in the Neighbourhood, turn'd ſhort out of the Road to *Orleans*, whither he was marching to form the Seige of that City, and advanc'd towards the Proteſtants, who had plunder'd the Suburbs of St. *Marceau*, and St. *Victor*, and the Inhabitants fled into *Paris* for their Security. The Proteſtant Army were ſtronger than the Papiſts, and the *Guiſes* to gain time ſet another Treaty on Foot, which vaniſh'd on the Arrival of *Monluc* out of *Guyenne*, and Forces from other Provinces to join the Catholicks, who

were by the Addition of theſe Troops, more Numerous than the *Hugonots*. The Prince of *Conde* had more than once loſt an opportunity to decide the Quarrel to his Advantage, by hearkening to the faithleſs Treaties of his Adverſaries. *Coligny* out of Love to Peace, comply'd with him, or otherwiſe on the breaking out of the War, and on the Arrival of the *German* Auxiliaries, the Proteſtants were in a Condition to have driven the Papiſts out of the Field. *Conde* retreated on the Approach of the *Guiſards*, taking the Road to *Limours*. The Conſtable follow'd him, believing he intended to cover *Orleans*, the Magazine of the *Hugonots*. On a ſudden, the Prince turn'd ſhort out of that Road, and march'd towards *Dreux* in *Normandy*, to meet the Earl of *Warwick*, and the *Engliſh*. *Montmerenci* kept ſo cloſe to him, that he was oblig'd to face about to prevent the *Guiſards* falling on his Rear, and reſolv'd to give Battel. The Admiral's Opinion was to retreat, yet ſeeing the Prince earneſt to engage, he gave way to his Courage, and agreed to it. The Conſtable began the Fight, and attack'd the Prince of *Conde* at the Head of 500 Gentlemen; he was ſo bravely receiv'd, that the Papiſts fled at the firſt Charge, and left the Conſtable, whoſe Horſe being kill'd under him, he was immediately ſurrounded, and taken Priſoner.

The

The Prince's Men inſtead of perſuing the Victory, fell to Plundering, and neither his Prayers nor Threats cou'd draw them off, tho' they were of the *Nobleſs* of *France*. The Duke of *Guiſe* perceiving the diſorder they were in, charg'd them, and the Prince ſent to the Admiral to advance preſently with the Van of the Army. *Coligny* haſten'd to his Relief, and the Duke of *Guiſe* animated by his implacable hatred of the Admiral, ſet ſuch an Example to his Troops, that they recover'd the Ground *Montmerenci* had loſt; took the Prince Priſoner, and forc'd the Hugonots to fly. The Proteſtant Foot, tho' *Andelot* did all that cou'd be expected from a General, and a Soldier to the contrary, fled at the firſt Onſet. In the Heat of the Battel, *Coligny* ſeeing how 'twou'd go, rode up to his Brother, who was at the ſame time ill of a Quartan Fever, and ſpeaking ſoftly, ~~bid~~ made him retire immediately, and throw himſelf into *Orleans*, and he wou'd ſtay to rally the Horſe, and obſerve the Duke of *Guiſe*. The Victory being on the ſide of the Papiſts, the Admiral march'd with the Horſe, directly to *Blainville*, *Guiſe* overtook him there, and *Coligny* finding he was ſtronger in Cavalry than his Enemy, with the remains of his broken Army, accepted of the Combat. In this Fight the Duke diſtinguiſh'd himſelf, as much by his rage againſt the

Admiral, as by his Exemplary Valour. The Battel laſted all Day, and *Coligny* drew off in the Night, obſerving his Men were diſpirited with the Prince of *Conde*'s Miſfortune. The Duke of *Guiſe*, who was as Vain, as he was Brave, boaſted that he had beaten *Coligny*, yet he loſt more Men than the Admiral, and beſides the Marſhal *de St. Andre*, one of the *Popiſh Triumvirate*, dy'd on the Spot. *Andelot*'s early retreat at the Battel of *Dreux*, occaſion'd a report that he was dead, on which *Guiſe* was heard to ſay, *That the Admiral was ruin'd, having loſt his Right-hand*; ſo *Coligny* was wont to call his Brother. The Admiral did not diſabuſe either his Friends, or his Enemies, and till he heard his Brother was ſafe in *Orleans*, ſuffer'd the report of his Death to ſpread. The Duke of *Guiſe*, who rejoic'd more than became a generous Enemy, was as much troubl'd to hear he was Living, and in that City; he did not however alter his Reſolution to beſiege it, and as Brave, and as Experienc'd, as *Andelot* was, he wou'd certainly have been compell'd to Surrender or Die on the Breach, if *Guiſe* had not been Aſſaſſinated by *Poltrot*, when the Town was in the laſt Diſtreſs. *Coligny* wrote to the reform'd Churches throughout the Kingdom for Supplies, and gather'd in a few Weeks as great an Army together, as he had before the Fight of *Dreux*.

He

He had no way to relieve his Brother, but to make a diverſion: Accordingly, he march'd to *Caen*, where the Marquiſs *D'Elbeuf*, *Guiſe*'s Brother, commanded, hoping if he cou'd take the Marquiſs to provide for his Brother's Ranſome by it, if the Duke of *Guiſe* took *Orleans*. *Caen* held out two Days, and the third ſurrender'd at Diſcretion. The Admiral hearing of the Aſſaſſination of *Guiſe* before *Orleans*, gave the Marquiſs *D'Elbeuf* his Liberty on honourable Conditions. *Bayeux*, *Falaiſe* and St. *Lo* were yielded up to the *Hugonots*. The *Engliſh* made themſelves Maſters of *Harfleur*, and moſt of the Sea Ports in *Normandy* were in Proteſtant Hands. The Progreſs of Monſi. *De Châtillon*, and the Earl of *Warwick*'s Succeſſes in that *Province*, diſpos'd the Papiſts to Peace. The Terms they offer'd were Advantageous, and the Queen wrought upon the Prince of *Conde* to accept of them, by the ſame Arts which ſhe us'd to govern his Brother. She ſet the moſt Charming Ladies of her Train to argue with him, and the Prince was too Amorous, not to give up the Cauſe to Beauty and Perſwaſion. The Admiral repreſented to him the Condition their Party was in, that they cou'd never hope to be in a better; that the Papiſts were out of Heart, by the Death of their Head, and the loſs of *Normandy*: That

there was no truſting to their Honour, or their Oaths, who were ſo often Falſe and Perjur'd. The Prince weary of the War, and fond of his Fair Company, did not hearken to his Reaſons, but continu'd the Treaty with the Queen Regent, for tho' he was a hearty *Hugonot*, he was as Gallant as the beſt Catholick, and tho' *Coligny* reprov'd him for it, yet he wou'd always divide his Time between the Affairs of Love and Religion. The Queen to awe the Admiral privately ſet the Dutcheſs of *Guiſe* an Addreſſing the Parliament to do her Juſtice on thoſe whom *Poltrot* had accus'd as abettors of her Husband's Murder. The Miſcreant on the Rack, charg'd the Admiral as Acceſſary to his Murder. *Coligny* publiſh'd a large Defence of himſelf, and fully clear'd his Innocence, yet the Regent wou'd not let the Proſecution be ſtop'd for more than three Years. The Peace was concluded, and both Sides laid down their Arms. The Prince of *Conde* complain'd, that while the Proſecution of the Admiral depended, the Articles of the Treaty were not perform'd, by which all paſt Offences were to be forgoten,and *Coligny* declar'd that were the Accuſation true, which he utterly deny'd; yet, ſince he cou'd juſtly Charge the *Guiſes* as Authors of all the Blood and Miſchiefs of the late War, he deſir'd he might

might enter his Proceſs againſt them, or that the Dutcheſs might be compell'd to withdraw hers againſt him. The Queen cou'd not handſomely deny him, and order'd the Parliament to ſtop all Proceedings, and the Dutcheſs of *Guiſe* to be quiet.

In *July* 1563. the Hugonots ungratefully aſſiſted the *French* Papiſts to drive the *Engliſh* out of *Havre de Grace*. The Garriſon were more than half deſtroy'd with the Plague, and the Queen of *England* being deſerted by her Confederates, the *French* Proteſtants, commanded the Earl of *Warwick* to give up the Town, and come back with what Forces were left.

During the Peace, the Admiral had leiſure to take care of the Settlement and Government of the reform'd Churches in *France*. He wrote circular Letters to all of 'em, recommending to them *to obſerve the Divine Laws, to live lovingly with one another, and even with the Roman Catholicks*, ſaying, *They muſt not pretend to convert them by the Sword, but by a Life without reproach, and if they wou'd be truly reform'd, they ſhou'd not content themſelves with the Name, but indeavour really to be ſo.* The Elector of *Saxony* to ſhew his particular Eſteem of Monſieur *de Chatillon*, ſent him a Preſent of ſix fine Horſes, and wrote to him, that one of them was the beſt in the World for

a Battel. Other Sovereign Princes correſponded with him, and tho' he was never Fortunate, courted him as the greateſt Captain of his Age.

Several Catholick Princes own'd the Council of *Trent*, then ſitting, as an Orthodox Council; others deny'd it, and particularly the *French* Court treated it as an illegal Aſſembly, that had made Decrees prejudicial to the Rights of the *Gallican* Church. The Potentates that were for the Council, ſent Agents to the *French* King, to deſire him to proceed againſt his Subjects of the reform'd Religion, whom the Fathers at *Trent* had pronounc'd *Hereticks*. The Admiral, who had his Spies every where was inform'd of this Negotiation, and believing himſelf in danger, complain'd aloud, and began to call his Friends about him. The Prince of *Conde* did the ſame, and the Queen fearing a ſecond Rupture, ſent away the Agents without a poſitive Anſwer. About this time the Admiral broke of the match between the Prince, and the Mareſchal *de St. Andre*, and hearing his Friend and Kinſman the Mareſchal *de Montmerenci* was inſulted at *Paris*, by the Cardinal of *Lorrain* and the *Guiſards*, he brought him 1200 Horſe to defend him; which had ſuch good effect on *Lorrain* and his Faction, that they acknowledg'd their Error, and the difference was accommodated. The King and the

the Queen Regent went in Progreſs thro' the Kingdom, giving out 'twas to ſhew the King to his Subjects. Their real deſign was to meet the Duke of *Alva*, Ambaſſador from the King of *Spain* at *Bayonne*, and here a Conference was appointed between the Regent and Duke of *Alva* to concert Methods to root out *Hereſy*. The Queen fear'd, if the Buſineſs had been negotiated at *Paris*, it might have been interrupted by the Hugonots. *Coligny* came to the Knowledge of the Conſpiracy to deſtroy the Proteſtants, communicated it to the Prince of *Conde*, and the Chiefs of the Hugonots, and held Council how to fruſtrate the Helliſh deſign of the Papiſts; they all reſolv'd to be on their Guard, and to ſtir on the firſt Infraction of the late Treaty.

The Queen Mother now ſhe was deliver'd from the Duke of *Guiſe*, fancy'd if ſhe cou'd get rid of the Prince of *Conde* and the Admiral, ſhe ſhou'd Reign without controul. 'Twas agreed at *Bayonne* to ſummon a meeting of the *Nobleſs* at *Moulins*, and to ſeize the Prince and Mr *de Chatillon* there; but they came ſo well arm'd and attended, that ſhe did not think fit to attempt it. Upon this the *Guiſes* brib'd one of his Servants *Hamber Villiers* to ſtab him; and the Duke *d'Aumale*, a Brother of the Houſe of *Lorrain*, gave 100 Crowns to an Innkeeper of *Chatillon*, to ſhoot him as he was a Hunting.

Both

Both of the Ruffians were accidentally discover'd, before they could commit the Bloody Fact. His Friends advis'd him to be careful of his Person, on whose safety the Welfare of the Reformation very much depended, and he to please them order'd his Steward to admit none but such as he knew, to come near his Provisions. Tho the Dutchess of *Guise* dropt her Petition, yet the Parliament having taken Cognizance of the Matter, the Admiral would not be satisfied till they made a Decree, declaring him Innocent, and the King order'd the House of *Guise*, no more to accuse him of it, either in Actions or Words, and to live Friendly with him, on pain of being treated as Traitors, and disturbers of the Publick Peace. The King cou'd do no more for Him, and the People believ'd he was so well with the Court, that he might pretend to any Thing. The Queen carest him, the Courtiers flatter'd him, and all the arts of Popish Hypocrisy and Dissimulation were made use of to lull him asleep, and tempt him to security, which his Enemies saw was their only way to destroy him and his Party.

Notwithstanding the Protestants were safe from the Laws, by the late Edicts and Treaties. Yet the Papists in the places where they dar'd offer 'em any Violence, continu'd to Persecute and Abuse them, and the Magistrates neglected to punish the Aggressors.

greſſors. The Admiral complain'd of it to the King and Queen Mother, who both promis'd that care ſhould be taken to relieve the Oppreſt. The King to gain credit with the Reform'd, ſhew'd all imaginable reſpect to Monſieur *de Chatillon*; and the Prince of *Conde* having pray'd his Majeſty to ſtand Godfather to one of his Children, *Charles* order'd *Coligny* to be his *Proxy*, the Admiral deſir'd to be excus'd, as unworthy ſo much diſtinction. The King would not admit of it, Commanding that he ſhould dine at a Table by Himſelf, and be ſerv'd by the Officers of his Houſhold, an Honour never allow'd to any but Sovereign Princes, telling the Admiral, he repreſented his Perſon, and it muſt be ſo. Thus the Court complimented him in Publick, while they were Privately contriving to have him and the Prince of *Conde* Arreſted, as had been reſolv'd on at the Conference of *Bayonne*. The Prince *de la Roche Sur Yon*, diſcover'd the Secret to the Admiral, who acquainted *Conde* with the contrivance of their Adverſaries, which being confirm'd by others; they ſummon'd the *Nobleſs* of their Party, to conſult of their Common Safety. They met at *Roſoi*, and agreed to march directly to *Monceaux*, where the King and his Mother then were, and to take his Majeſty out of the hands of their Enemies. The Queen Mother had notice of their motions, and remov'd

remov'd her Son to *Meaux*. The Admiral when they came to *Monceaux*, finding the Court gone, wou'd have attack'd the *Swiſs* Guards, who quarter'd in the Villages about the Town. The Queen to ſave the *Swiſs*, ſent the Mareſ. *de Montmerenci*, *Coligny*'s Friend, to propoſe an accommodation, and as ſhe us'd to do, improving the opportunity the Treaty gave her to effect her deſigns, ſhe drew off the *Swiſs* into *Meaux*. As ſoon as the Guards were ſafe, ſhe ſhew'd no manner of inclination to Peace. The Cardinal of *Lorrain* exaſperated the young King againſt the Hugonots, and wou'd have had him believe that they intended to murther him. He adviſ'd him to haſten to *Paris*, which was wholly devoted to the *Guiſes*. The King ventur'd out of *Meaux*, with only his *Swiſs* Guards, and the Gentlemen of his Houſhold. The Prince of *Conde*, and the Hugonots intercepted him in his March. The King being in the firſt Battalion, the Prince let him go forward, and fell on the Body of the Guards; the Gentlemen that were with the King fled immediately, but the *Swiſs* ſtood firm, all that the Prince's Troops cou'd do, cou'd not break their Order, and for want of Infantry he was oblig'd to let them Proceed. The Proteſtant Gentlemen from other Provinces join'd the Prince's Army, who ſeiz'd

the

the Avenues to *Paris*, and ſoon ſtreightned that Populous City.

The Conſtable on this occaſion remonſtrated to the King, how much Blood might be ſav'd by ſpeaking one Word to baniſh the *Guiſes*. The Cardinal of *Lorrain*'s Advice was more agreeable to *Charles* the IXth's cruel Humour, and more ſucceſsful; he ſuggeſted that there wou'd be no Peace in *France*, till Hereſie was rooted out, that he did not ſit ſecure on the Throne, while the Prince of *Conde* and *Coligny* had ſo conſiderable a part of his Subjects at their Beck, and that the Conſtable correſponded with the Prince, and the Admiral, his Nephew. The Hugonots were not above 3000 Foot, and 1500 Horſe, yet they made the *Pariſians* keep within their Walls, deſtroy'd the Mills in the Neighbourhood, cut off their Proviſions, and reduc'd them to very great Streits. The Conſtable, as well to ſhew his Loyalty, which was ſuſpected, as to relieve the Citizens march'd out of *Paris* to fight the Proteſtants, and the Prince of *Conde* prepar'd to receive him. The Prince commanded the Right-wing, and the Admiral the Left. The Mareſchal *de Montmerenci* broke the Prince's Right-wing, and *Damville*, and the Duke *d'Amuale*, forc'd the Admiral to give Ground. The Conſtable preſſing amidſt the

the hotteſt of the Action was mortally wounded; the Battel laſted all Day, and the Victory inclining to the Papiſts, the Proteſtants retreated by Favour of the Night. *Andelot* came up with freſh Forces, juſt as the Admiral was retiring, and perſwaded him to return towards *Paris* to keep up the Reputation of their Arms. He follow'd his advice, and after the *Pariſians* had been told, that the Hugonots were entirely routed and diſpers'd, they were ſurpriz'd to ſee them Inſulting them at their very Gates, and carrying off Priſoners out of their Suburbs. The Duke of *Anjou*, the King's Brother, ſucceeded the Conſtable in the chief Command, and the Prince of *Conde* not being able to ſubſiſt in the Neighbourhood of *Paris*, paſt the *Seine*, and march'd to meet the Prince *Palatine*, who was bringing 8000 *Germans* to his Aſſiſtance. The Admiral ſurpriz'd *Orleans*, by his Intelligence with the Citizens, *La Noue* took poſſeſſion of it for the Proteſtants, and the Hugonots having been reinforc'd with the *German* Troops, and encourag'd by the receit of 200000 Crowns from the Queen of *England*, began to grow formidable to their Enemies. They paſt the *Marne* in ſight of the Duke of *Nevers*, whom the Regent had ſent to oppoſe their Paſſage. The Admiral inveſted *Chartres*, and

and the Queen Mother, fearing they wou'd make themſelves Maſters of that and other Cities, offer'd them Terms of Peace as honourable as the laſt. Monſ. *de Biron*, and the Preſident *de Meſmes*, were Deputies for the King. For the Prince, and the Admiral appear'd the Cardinal *de Châtillon*, by whom a Peace was concluded at *Longumeau*, on the Foot of former Edicts. The Joy of the Treaty was abated by the Death of Madame *de Chatillon*, a Lady of incomparable Parts and Courage; ſhe fell ſick at *Orleans*, and the Peace was on the point of being concluded when the Admiral had News, that her Life was deſpair'd of: He left the Deputies to their Deliberations, and poſted to *Orleans*, where he found her dead: He behav'd himſelf on ſo ſad an Occaſion, as became a tender Husband, and a good Chriſtian. His Lady bad thoſe that were about her to tell the Admiral, that ſhe recommended the Proteſtant Cauſe to him with her laſt Breath, which made ſuch an Impreſſion on his Zeal, and his Piety, that it never wore out of his Mind.

The Prince and the Admiral return'd to Court after the Peace, and their Reception was as honourable and obliging as cou'd be expected. We are told, that at this time Monſieur *de Châtillon* perceiving their Civilities to him, were only to keep fair till they were ſtrong enough to deal otherwiſe, form'd

form'd a deſign to remove to the *Weſt-Indies* with a Colony of his Brethren of the reform'd Religion, which his Adverſaries inſtance as a proof of his Ambition, that nothing leſs than to be Sovereign wou'd ſatisfie him. *Rochelle*, and ſome other Towns by the late Treaty were to remain in poſſeſſion of the *Hugonots* a whole Year, and the Edicts for Liberty of Conſcience, having ſtill very little Effect. The *Rochellers* reſolv'd to keep their City, and the King, to reduce it by Force. The Admiral had private Intelligence of ſeveral Conſpiracies to ſeize him, and the Prince of *Conde*; that Troops were marching to inveſt the Prince at *Noyers*, and himſelf at *Châtillon*. *Coligny* carry'd his Children with him to *Noyers*, and the Prince ſeeing him come with that Melancholy Train, was the ſooner convinc'd of his own, and his Friend's danger. They both haſten'd from thence as faſt as they cou'd, they had not been long on Horſeback, before they were perſu'd by a party of Horſe, and cou'd not have eſcap'd them, had not a Gentleman of the Country guided them to a Ford over the *Loire*. Which the King's Troops not knowing, were oblig'd to retire without their Prey. The Prince and the Admiral arriv'd ſafely at *Rochelle*, where the Queen of *Navarre* and her Son, the Prince of *Bearn*, expected them.

Their

Their Retreat, and that of other Perſons of the firſt Quality made the Court to repent of their Treachery. They publiſh'd an Edict to redreſs the Grievances of the Proteſtants, 'twas now too late to Temporize with them, they had too often been deceiv'd by the Queen Mother to truſt her again.

In the Year 1568. the Cardinal *de Châtillon* went to *England*, and procur'd Supplies of Men and Money of Queen *Elizabeth*, with this help the Prince of *Conde*, and the Admiral found themſelves in a Condition to take the Field, and the Duke of *Anjou* was ſent againſt them, a young Prince whoſe hatred to the Proteſtants was predominant to all his other Paſſions. *Anjou* beſieg'd *Jarnac*, *Coligny* came preſently to its relief, and on his approach the Duke march'd off, having loſt 300 Men before the Town: To revenge this Affront, he gather'd Forces together from all Parts, and when he was Superior in Strength to the Admiral attack'd him near *Jarnac*. The Hugonots were not above half of the Number of the Papiſts. The Prince of *Conde* preſſing in the Engagement too far amidſt the Enemy was wounded, his Horſe fell, and the Prince under him. The Duke of *Anjou*'s Guards immediately ſurrounded him, and their Captain, the Baron *de Monteſquieau* in cold Blood ſhot him dead on the place, the Admiral hearing what had hap-

pen'd, retir'd towards the *Charente* to ſave his Army; he paſt the River with his Foot, broke down the Bridge of *Jarnac*, and retreated to *Coignac*, where *Henry* Prince of *Bearn*, afterwards *Henry* the IVth of *France*, was proclaim'd General of the Proteſtants: Yet by Reaſon of his Youth, all the weight of Affairs lay on the Admiral. The Duke of *Anjou* after the Battel of *Jarnac*, took ſome ſmall Towns, and beſieg'd *Coignac*, where he met ſuch a brave Reſiſtance, that he was forc'd to raiſe the Siege. *Coligny* viſited the Garriſons, and incourag'd them to defend themſelves as *Coignac* had done; he had not long rejoic'd in the Duke's diſgrace before that Town, when his Joy was diſturb'd by the Death of his dear Brother, Monſ. *Andelot*: As brave a Soldier, as good a Chriſtian, and as true a Friend as ever fought in ſo Righteous a Cauſe. He dy'd in his Bed of a ſpotted Fever, and the Admiral's Miniſters had as much as they cou'd do to recover him out of his Sorrow. He was a while inconſolable, till reflecting on his Duty he bore the loſs, with the ſame Reſignation as he had done his Ladies. The Proteſtant Churches in *France* contributed largely towards recruiting their Army, and enabled Monſieur *de Chatillon* to procure 14000 Men out of *Germany*, commanded by the Duke *de Deux Ponts*, who brought his Men through *Alſace*, *Lor-*

Lorrain and *France*, almoſt two hundred Leagues through an Enemies Country, and when he arriv'd near *Limoges*, fell ſick and dy'd; he left his Army under the command of Count *Mansfeild*, with whom the Admiral join'd three Leagues from *Limoges*, and the Duke of *Anjou* not being able to hinder their Junction, advanc'd towards the Admiral with the whole Strength of the Papiſts, and offer'd him Battel. *Mansfeild* was for fighting, but the Admiral told him, the *Nobleſs* who were the flowr of *Anjou*'s Army, wou'd ſoon be weary of the Fatigues of a Camp, and demand to go Home, that then they might do what they pleas'd, which fell out accordingly. The Admiral had now the Advantage of the Duke of *Anjou*; however to ſhew his Inclination to Peace, he pray'd that Prince to grant Paſſes for his Deputies to wait on the King, and beg his Majeſty, and the Queen Mother to pardon them, and redreſs their Grievances. *Anjou* wou'd not hear of any ſuch mild Methods, and *Coligny* finding he muſt continue the War, reſolv'd to Proſecute it vigorouſly. He detach'd Monſieur *de Teligny*, who marry'd his Daughter, to inveſt *Poitiers*, where the young Duke of *Guiſe* commanded. He follow'd *Teligny* with the Body of the Army, and *Guiſe* was brought to Extremity. Which the Duke of *Anjou* hearing, he beſieg'd *Cha-*

ſtellerault in *Poitou*, a Proteſtant Garriſon, to draw off the Admiral by a Diverſion on that ſide. *Coligny* broke up from *Poitiers* with all poſſible Secrecy, thinking to ſurprize *Anjou*, but one of his Soldiers deſerting, diſcover'd his Intention to the Duke, who immediately drew off from before *Chaſtellerault*, and paſt the River *La Creuſe* to avoid the Combat. He ſent out Summons to the *Nobleſs* to return to the Army, and by the Addition of theſe Troops he became too ſtrong for the Admiral. The latter was apprehenſive of a Battle, and retreated, being taking violently ill of a Diſſentery, which hinder'd his performing the Office of a General, to the prejudice of his Affairs. His diſtemper abating, and the Enemy drawing nearer; he ſaw he cou'd not avoid fighting, without expoſing his Rear, for which Reaſon he reſolv'd to engage, the rather, becauſe the *Nobleſs* of his Party were as uneaſie to be gone, as thoſe of the Kings. He march'd his Army to *Mirebeau*, to poſſeſs himſelf of an Advantageous Poſt; which the Mareſchal *de Tavennes*, who commanded under the Duke of *Anjou*, ſeiz'd before him. The Troops that were detach'd on both Sides to gain the Paſs, began the Engagement. The Admiral's giving ground, he ran to ſupport them, and the Enemy were in their turn repulſt. The diſpute laſted till Night, next Day both Armies expected

pected to renew the Fight; but the Admiral not liking his Poſt, on a ſudden made his Retreat, and the Duke falling on his Rear, he fac'd about, and began a ſecond Battel. The Hugonots ~~fly'd~~ at the firſt Charge, and *Coligny* himſelf was wounded in the Face, two of *Anjou*'s Soldiers who knew him, attack'd him, and others coming on him; he had certainly been taken, had not one of his own Men thrown himſelf between him and them, and gave the reſt time to Reſcue him. The Hugonots having the worſt on't, the Admiral join'd his Cavalry, and charg'd the Enemy, who were perſuing his Foot, but being over-pour'd, he was at laſt forc'd to retire, and leave a compleat Victory to the Duke of *Anjou*. After this defeat, the Queen Mother believing he was quite ruin'd, order'd him to be declar'd guilty of High Treaſon, and the Papiſts plunder'd and burnt his Caſtle at *Chatillon*, which till then had been left ſtanding to render the way eaſier to an Accommodation. His Rents were ſtop'd, and he was neceſſitated to apply to the reform'd Churches for Subſiſtance, who generouſly allow'd him a Penſion of 30000 Crowns a Year, which he receiv'd no longer than the War laſted.

By circular Letters to all his Friends in the remote Provinces, he incourag'd them

in the juſt Defence of their Liberties, acquainted them with the Submiſſions he had made to the Queen, and how he was perſecuted in return. He wrote to the King, hoping to be more ſucceſsful with him, but finding him prepoſſeſt by his Enemies, he prepar'd to continue the War. He receiv'd 100000 Crowns more from Queen *Elizabeth*, and the Queen Mother ſeeing *England*, and ſeveral Princes of *Germany* eſpous'd his Quarrel, try'd once more to amuſe him with Propoſitions of Peace. He was well acquainted with her Artifices, and neglecting her Offers, march'd out of *Guyenne* to viſit the Cities, which held out for him in the South Parts of *France*. In his way he took *Aiguillon*, and having join'd the Count *de Montgomery*, who commanded the Hugonots in *Bearn*. He enter'd the Province of *Languedoc*, and all the Cities declar'd for him, except *Toulouſe*, the Capital of the Province, he deſtroy'd the Country Houſes in the Neighbourhood, to revenge the Cruelties exercis'd towards the Proteſtants in that City. And this was the only Action during the whole Courſe of the War, in which he ſuffer'd his Paſſion to prevail. His Forces increas'd daily, and when he had finiſh'd his Buſineſs in *Languedoc*, he proceeded to *Dauphine*, where two thouſand Men more came into him. He did not

ſtay

ſtay long there, for hearing the Duke of *Anjou*, who had loſt above half his Army before St. *Jean d'Angely*, threaten'd *la Charitè* on the *Loire*, he march'd that way, tho' he was ſtill ſo ſick, he was carry'd in a Litter. He ſeiz'd the Bridge of St. *Rambert*, and not being able to deſcend ſo low as *la Charitè*. He ſummon'd the Proteſtant *Nobleſs* of *Poitou* and *Limoſin* to join him, and enter'd *Burgundy*, raiſing every where in his march large Contributions to pay his Forreigners. The Regent perceiving he was in a Capacity to prolong the War, and rather got than loſt Ground, tempted him with offers of 200000 Crowns for his Damages at *Chatillon* to forward the Peace. He anſwer'd her as he had always done, that if his Majeſty wou'd ſatisfie the *Reform'd Churches* of *France*, he wou'd himſelf be ſatisfy'd. He took the Road to *Paris*, and the Queen to prevent his approaching nearer the City with his Army, diſpatch'd Commiſſioners with the Terms he deſir'd, and a Treaty was concluded. The Proteſtants were to enjoy the Exerciſe of their Religion in the Suburbs of the Cities of *France*, to be admitted into Offices, and be try'd by Judges at the Town-Halls, and not by the Parliaments, who were Perſons wholly devoted to the Court, and generally Enemies of the Reformation. They were to keep *Rochelle*,

Montauban, *la Charitè* and *Coignac*, two Years for their Security.

On Concluding the Peace Monſieur *de Châtillon* retir'd to *Rochelle*, and ſent a Power to a Gentleman of *Languedoc* to Marry a Lady in his Name, whom he had ſeen in the Country, and lik'd her ſo well as to make her his Wife. His Marrying by Proxy was Cenſur'd, as Invading the Rights of Sovereigns. 'Twas ſaid in his Excuſe, that he cou'd not ſafely go thither himſelf to Marry her, and it was not decent for her to come to him before ſhe was his Wife. Fifty Gentlemen conducted the Lady to *Rochelle*, where ſhe made a pompous Entry with her Husband, attended by a vaſt number of Perſons of Quality. The Admiral was ſo well belov'd by the Citizens, that he reign'd as much at *Rochelle* as the King did at *Paris*. While he Liv'd there, the Court, Inſtigated to it by the *Guiſes*, who eaſily work'd on the wicked Diſpoſition of their King *Charles* the IXth. form'd the Deſign of the horrid Maſſacre of *Paris*.

They try'd all the Arts they cou'd think of to get *Coligny* into their hands; they flatter'd him with hopes of a War with *Spain*, and that he ſhou'd Command in it. They ſent the Mareſchal *de Coſſe* to Conſult him about it, and Count *Lodowick* of *Naſſau*, the Prince of *Orange*'s Brother, who had been at

Paris

Paris to Negociate ſome Affairs for that Prince, aſſur'd the Admiral, the King intended that he ſhou'd be his General in *Flanders*. *Teligny*, his Son-in-Law, went to Court, the King carreſs'd him in an extraordinary manner, and on his Return confirm'd what *Lodowick* had ſaid before. Yet the Admiral did not think fit to truſt neither the King nor his Mother, till the Marriage of the Prince of *Bearn* with *Charles*'s Siſter was propos'd, and he, and all the Proteſtant *Nobleſs* Invited to Aſſiſt at the Solemnity.

He thought if he ſhou'd refuſe to go, 'twou'd look as if he diſapprov'd of the Match, which was very much for the Advantage of the Proteſtants, and he cou'd not imagine the King wou'd make this Step unleſs he was hearty in it. He demanded Leave of his Majeſty to bring 50 Gentlemen with him, to Defend him from the Deſigns of his Enemies. The King anſwer'd, he might bring 100 if he pleas'd; and then he went to the Court at *Blois*, where he was ſo favourably receiv'd by their Majeſties, that many of the Popiſh Grandees took Umbrage at it. He was admitted into the King's Council, and often alone in his Cloſet. He aſſiſted at the King of *Navarre*'s Wedding, the Prince of *Bearn* having that Title by the Death of his Mother the Queen of *Navarre*, who dy'd a few days before

before; 'twas ſuſpected ſhe was Poiſon'd by an *Italian* Perfumer belonging to the Queen Mother. The Nuptials were ſolemnis'd by the Cardinal *de Bourbon*. The King of *Navarre*, the Admiral, and the Proteſtant Lords, walkt in the Church Yard of *Noſtre Dame* while Maſs was Celebrated, and after 'twas over, they went in and finiſh'd the Ceremony.

The King, the Queen Regent, and eſpecially the young Duke of *Guiſe*, rejoic'd that they had got their Enemies in the Snare they had laid for them, and Conſulted how to put in Execution the Project of *Bayonne*; *Guiſe* was the moſt eager, and the moſt ready for ſo deteſtable an Action. He offer'd to procure an Aſſaſſin one *Mirever*, who murder'd the Baron *de Moüi*, to ſhoot the Admiral, which was agreed on, and *Mirever* hid in the Houſe of a Monk of St. *Germain de Lauxerrois*, where he waited for *Coligny*'s coming by, who Living in the Neighbourhood, us'd to Walk by the Door a foot. The firſt time the Villain ſaw him he fir'd a Carbine, and Wounded him in the Hand and Arm, tho' not mortally. The Admiral feeling himſelf hurt, look'd if he cou'd ſee from whence the Blow came. His Servants ſurrounded the Houſe, but the Aſſaſſin was gone. The King was preſently inform'd of the Accident, and being at Tennis left his Game, and ſeem'd mightily Concern'd.

Monſieur

Monſieur *de Châtillon* repented that he had truſted himſelf in *Paris*; the more, for that he had Advice by an intercepted Letter of the Cardinal *de Pelleve*, a Creature of the *Guiſes*, that the King of *Navarre*'s Marriage was only a Pretence, to draw the Chiefs of his Party to *Paris*. The Admiral fancy'd this was only a Trick of the *Guiſards*, to break off the Match, by driving him from Court, but *Mirever*'s Aſſault ſatisfy'd him to the contrary. The King viſited him, and pretended to be angry with the *Guiſes*, whom he ſuppos'd to be guilty of the Attempt. He advis'd the Admiral, for his greater ſafety, to gather his Proteſtant Friends about him; the meaning was, that they might be the readier for Deſtruction. This falſe Prince, whoſe ill Principles muſt be Born with him, for he had not liv'd long enough to learn ſo much Diſſimulation and Cruelty, enter'd into a long Conference with *Coligny* on the *Spaniſh* War. The Admiral, among other things, advis'd him to take the Prince of *Orange* into his Protection, leaſt he ſhou'd fly to the Queen of *England*, and that Crown, by this means, grow too powerful. The Queen Mother ſent ſeveral times to enquire after his Health: and the famous Surgeon *Ambroſe Parry*, was Order'd to attend him. His Majeſty oblig'd him, whether he wou'd or not, to Accept of a Guard, Commanded by *Coſſeins*, a Ruffian, of the

Guiſard

Guiſard Faction. The Admiral upon this call'd his Friends together, moſt of them were for leaving *Paris* that Evening; but Monſieur *Teligny*, to whom *Charles* had been extreamly kind, had ſo often aſſur'd his Father, that he knew his Majeſty meant no ill, *Coligny* cou'd not believe him ſo bad as the others did. The King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Conde* were lodg'd in the *Louvre* for their Security; and then the King ſent for the Duke of *Guiſe*, told him he rely'd upon him to kill the Admiral, and had giv'n Orders to the Provoſt of *Paris* to Arm the Citizens, and obey him. *Guiſe* undertook the bloody Buſineſs with joy; and the extraordinary Motions of the Citizens giving *Coligny*'s Friends reaſon to fear the worſt, they provided Arms, and brought them to his Houſe. But *Coſſeins* would not let them carry 'em in, till the King of *Navarre*, who was there preſent, and had appointed ſome *Swiſs* to be the Admiral's Guard came down, and bad them Enter. The Time ſet for the Maſſacre was at the Ringing the Bell of St. *Germain de Lauxerrois*, which us'd to Ring about Two in the Morning, and was to be a Signal to the other Bells throughout the City to warn the Murderers to Riſe, and begin their Slaughter on St. *Bartholomew*'s day the 24th. of *Auguſt* 1572. *Coſſeins* at the Hour appointed knock'd at *Coligny*'s Door. He was Major of a Regiment of Guards;

and

and telling thoſe within he muſt Speak with the Admiral from the King, the Door was open'd, and the Villain Stabb'd thoſe that let him in. Then mounting the Stair-Caſe, he, and his Followers, maſſacred the *Swiſs* who waited on Monſieur *de Châtillon.* The Noiſe wak'd him, he roſe, put on his Morning Gown, and fell on his Knees to implore the Divine Protection and Mercy, believing, as he told his Chaplain Monſieur *Merlin, that his Hour was come.* The Soldiers drawing nearer, *Merlin* and all his Domeſticks left him, except one Servant that faithfully ſtaid to the laſt, and dy'd with his Maſter. *Coſſeins* getting to the top of the Stairs broke open his Chamber Door, and one *Beſme,* a *German,* firſt entring, ask'd for the Admiral, who anſwer'd, *I am the Man thou ſeekeſt for; if thou art a Soldier, as thou doſt appear to be, do not dip thy Hands in the Blood of an old Captain.* The Murderer, without reply, cut him over the Head with a Hanger; *Coſſeins,* and his Aſſaſſins, (fit Guards for a *French* King) did the ſame, and after they had Murder'd him threw him out of the Caſement. The Body hung at the Window, and held ſo faſt, that the Aſſaſſins found there was ſtill ſome Life in it. *Guiſe* waited impatiently for it below, and when it dropt, barbarouſly kick'd and abus'd it. This wretched Prince was, in the next Reign, ſerv'd in the ſame manner

ner for Inſolence and Rebellion. *Beſme* being taken by the *Hugonots* in the future War, was hang'd in *Guyenne*. The Papiſts, *Guiſe* at their head, drew *Coligny*'s mangl'd Corps in triumph thro' the Streets of *Paris*, which over-flow'd with the Blood of many Thouſands of the Reform'd Religion. Thus dy'd the great Admiral *de Coligny*, who, tho' he never won a Battel, and was unfortunate in almoſt all his warlike Enterprizes; yet for his Skill in Military Diſcipline, for his particular Art in Rallying an Army, and improving a Defeat to the beſt Advantage, and for his Perſonal Courage, was Eſteem'd the greateſt General of the Age.

'Twas in this fatal Morning that the *French* Papiſts ſhew'd themſelves in their true Colours. Their delighting in the Torments and Death of their Neighbours and Friends, and to ſee all *Paris* ſtain'd with Proteſtant Blood, is an Eternal Proof that Treaſon and Murder is both in their Nature, and in their Principles. And if ſome of them have diſown'd the *Guiſards* in ſo execrable a Deed, 'tis becauſe they have wanted an Opportunity to repeat the damnable Tragedy. Their King a Monſter of Cruelty, ſtaid all night in the Suburbs of St. *Germains* to divert himſelf with that horrid Spectacle, ſporting with the Tortures of his innocent Subjects. No Ties of Oaths, Gratitude,

titude, Relation or Friendſhip, was conſider'd by him, ev'n the Count *de la Rochfaucalt*, whom he had till now liv'd with as a Brother, took him to his Boſom, and ſmil'd upon him as the Man he had Choſen for his reigning Favourite, was abandon'd to the fury of the Murderers. If he ſaw any of the Proteſtants flying from the Aſſaſſines, he had his Piece ready Charg'd to ſhoot at them, Crying out aloud, *Tuez, Tuez, Kill All, and ſpare none.* But Divine Providence, whoſe Vengeance is often as ſpeedy as ſure, over-took him, when he might have promis'd to himſelf an Age of Tyranny and Pleaſure; for not many Months after he dy'd miſerably, of a Diſtemper which he got by a Surfeit of Luſt, in the Four and Twentieth Year of his Age.

THE

THE LIFE OF *Don John* of *Austria*, Son of *Charles* the Fifth.

PART II.

IN the beginning of the Year 1546. the Imperial Court were at *Ratisbon*, where the Emperor assisted at a Diet then held there, and a Princess, who 'tis said, was related to him, was deliver'd of *Don John*, the Subject of this History, her Quality was so great, that her Name has

has been kept a ſecret, and to colour the Buſineſs the better, *Barbara Plombergue*, a Lady of *Ratisbon* own'd the Child, and pretended to be his Mother. But *Philip* the IId, King of *Spain*, confeſt to his darling Daughter the Infanta *Iſabella*, that *Don John* was the Son of an Illuſtrious Princeſs.

He was Born the 25th of *February*, and the Emperor committed the care of his Education to *Lewis Quiſciada*, High Steward of his Houſhold, with ſtrict Charge of Secrecy. In obedience to his Maſter's Commands, he deliver'd the Child as tho' it had been one of his Friends to his Wife, *Magdalen Ulloa*, who believing 'twas her Huſband's proper Off-ſpring, bred it with as much Tenderneſs as if it had really been his own.

She was ſoon convinc'd of the contrary by his Aſſiduity and Watchfulneſs, not common in Perſons of his Rank over their Children, one Inſtance among many others too tedious to relate was, that his Houſe being on Fire in the Night, and the flame having ſeiz'd the Apartment where *Ulloa* and *Don John* lay, when *Quiſciada* awoke, forgetting his Wife and his Treaſures, he ran immediately to the Child, ſnatch'd him up in his Arms, and remov'd him to a place of Safety, from whence he return'd to look after his Lady and his Family.

Don John ſhew'd early that his Soul was of the ſame Heroick Temper as the Emperor, his Father's, and in his diſputes with the Youth, who were bred with him, came off always Victorious. *Charles* the Vth intended to give him ſome Church Preferment, for which his martial Spirit ſeem'd already very unfit. He had an Averſion to Books; and Arms, and War, were his whole delight even from his Childhoood.

The Emperor dy'd the 21ſt of *September* 1558. when the Prince was ſcarce thirteen Years of Age, on his Death-Bed he diſcover'd to his Son, King *Philip*, that the Youth whom *Quiſciada* bred at *Villa Garſia* was his Brother, and deſir'd him to take him to Court into his immediate Care and Protection; he told him, *Plombergue* was reported to be *Don John*'s Mother, only to ſave the Honour of a Princeſs, his Kinſwoman, of whom he was Born. *Philip* promis'd every thing his Father wou'd have him, and in part perform'd his Promiſes. He ſav'd the Reputation of the Princeſs, who was the real Mother, and highly honour'd the Preſumptive. When the the Prince was in his fourteenth Year, the King told *Quiſciada*, 'twas time to take his Pupil out of his Hands, and to ſhew him the Court. A Day was prefix'd for his Reception, and *Villadolid* appointed to be the Place. The King was to come there to Hunt,

Hunt, and order'd *Quiſciada* not to let the Prince know any thing of the matter, for he wou'd have the pleaſure to ſurprize him. *Quiſciada* returning Home, tells *Don John*, he muſt dreſs himſelf to the beſt Advantage, mount on Horſe-back, and follow him. *Don John* obey'd him as his Father, and gallantly Equipt, prepar'd for the Journey he was to take; he knew not whether. He was very indifferently mounted, *Quiſciada* having reſerv'd the beſt Gennet in his Stable for himſelf, and the richeſt Furniture.

When they came up with the King at the Chace, *Quiſciada* alighted, ſo did *Don John*, and the former fell at his Pupil's Feet, begging the Honour to kiſs his *Highneſs*'s hand, and told him, the King himſelf would acquaint him with the Reaſons of the new Reſpect which he render'd him. He deſir'd him to Mount on his own Horſe, which was at his *Highneſs*'s Service. *Don John* bluſh'd to hear him talk thus to him, and believing, he ſaid it to try his Modeſty, he refus'd the Honours he offer'd him; at laſt perceiving he was in earneſt, he mounted his Governor's Horſe, and rode up to the King, who obſerv'd at a little diſtance the Paſſage between *Quiſciada* and the Prince. He was Extremely pleas'd with his Brother's Beauty and Behaviour, which were every way Gallant and Charming. The

Prince when he approacht near the King alighted, and threw himſelf at his Majeſty's Feet, who bad him riſe, and ask'd him ſmiling, *If he knew who was his Father. Don John* being puzzl'd at the Queſtion, and doubting what to anſwer; the King, not to keep him too long in ſuſpence, alighted and embrac'd him, ſaying, *Courage, The Emperor* Charles *who Reigns now in Heaven, was your Father and Mine.* The Courtiers were pleas'd with the Adventure, and paid their Duty to the Prince, whom the King commanded to be ſerv'd like his Brother, and the Son of an Emperor.

There were then at the Court of *Madrid, Philip*'s Eldeſt Son, *Don Carlos*, and his Nephew, *Alexander Farneſe*, Prince of *Parma. Don Carlos* was inferior in all Things to *Don John*, except in the Dignity of his Birth, which cou'd not but be diſpleaſing to the King, and his Brother ſhewing no manner of inclination for the Church, increas'd his *Chagrin.* He wou'd by no means incourage his Genius for War, neither wou'd *Don John* hear of an Eccleſiaſtick Life, which difference between the King's Inclination and his, grew to a diſguſt, that was never perfectly cur'd. *Alexander Farneſe* imitated his Uncle, *Don John*, in his delighting in Arms, and his deſire of Glory. While *Don Carlos* contented himſelf with his mad Frolicks, and fatal Amours, as one careleſs of

of Fame, and having no higher Ambition than to pleaſe his fair Step-Mother, Queen *Elizabeth*, a Daughter of *France*, who had been promis'd to himſelf, and was raviſh'd from him by his Father. *Don John* impatiently waited for an Opportunity to enter upon Action, the firſt that offer'd was the famous Siege of *Maltha*, which City Sultan *Soliman* attack'd in the Year 1566. The Iſland which takes its Name from the City belong'd to the Knights of *Jeruſalem*, now call'd the Knights of *Maltha*, the Sultan had been four Months before the Town, and ſo long the great Maſter *John de la Valette*, a *Frenchman*, vigorouſly defended it. The 17th of *May*, *Muſtapha Baſſa* of *Buda*, made a deſcent on the Iſle; the *Turkiſh* Fleet, the Pirates of *Barbary*, and ſome *Renegades* diſtreſt it very much by Sea, and the Knights were reduc'd to the laſt Extremity, before the Catholick King ſtir'd in their relief. As he was the Patron of the Church, he thought 'twas his Duty to Interpoſe and Prevent the Iſlands falling into the Infidels Hands. He order'd *Don Garcia de Toledo*, Vice-Roy of *Sicily*, to ſuccour the Knights, and relieve the City. *Don John* was earneſt with the King to go a Volunteer in this Expedition, *Philip* poſitively deny'd him, pretending he was too young. The Prince however, un-

known to any Body, with-drew himſelf from *Madrid*, and poſted to *Barcelona* to join *Don Garcia*, who was to Sail in *September*. He hop'd his Majeſty wou'd pardon a fault of Youth, and that his Valour wou'd appeaſe the King's Anger. When King *Philip* heard of his departure, he ſent him a peremptory Order to return on pain of loſing his Favour for Ever. *Quiſciada*, his Tutor, was one of the Meſſengers, and he repreſented the ill Conſequence of his Diſobedience in ſuch lively Terms, that the Prince ſubmitted, and agreed to go back; tho' not without a great deal of difficulty. He told his Governor, he was no longer under his Tutelage, and that having reſolv'd to take hold of ſo fair an Occaſion to make his firſt Campaign, he wou'd not be perſwaded to let it ſlip. *Quiſciada* renew'd his Importunity, and a ſecond Letter coming from his Majeſty, requiring him to return immediately, *Don John* made ſuch haſt to Court, that he arriv'd there before the King thought he had left *Barcelona*. He waited on his Brother at *Villadolid*, *Philip* chid him a little, and the thing paſt over.

To put the Diſappointment out of his Head, he fell on an Intrigue with *Donna Maria de Mendoza*, and had a Daughter by her, whom he call'd *Anne*, and making uſe of his Father's Confident, conſign'd the Child

Child to the care of his own Nurſe, *Damè Ulloa*, imitating the Emperor's Secrecy in the Amour ſo well, that it was not found out till a long time afterwards. The King being then inform'd that *Anne* was his Neice, ſent her to *Burgos*, and gave her the Monaſtery of Benedictine Nuns, near that City, whoſe Abbeſs was lately dead. It happen'd about this time that *Don Carlos*'s Paſſion for the Queen, became ſuſpected by the King, and his uſage of his Son, on that account provok'd the Prince, who was of a temper not to be controul'd to hearken to ſome Offers made him by the *Flemings*, againſt the Authority of his Father. The Marquiſs *de Bergh*, and the Baron *de Montigni*, were then in the *Spaniſh* Court; Deputies from the States of the *Netherlands* to Remonſtrate their Grievances, and excuſe their Revolt, as being forc'd to it, by the Cruelty and Tyranny of the Duke of *Alva*. The Deputies held Correſpondence with *Don Carlos*, and tempted him to be their Head, promiſing in ſuch Caſe to accept of him for their Sovereign. The Prince demanded the Government of thoſe Provinces of his Father. The King diſſwaded by *Alva* and *Ruigomez*, put him off with frivolous Excuſes, and at laſt abſolutely refus'd to give it him; which exaſperated the young Prince ſo much, that he reſolv'd to part privately for *Flan-*

ders, and as ſome ſay, had Engagements with the *Moors* of *Grenada*, and the Grand Signior for Aſſiſtance. A Reflection thrown on his Memory by the Prieſts, who were apprehenſive that he inclin'd to *Hereſy*, and indeed his forwardneſs to have the Grievances of the *Netherlanders* redreſt, who had for many Years languiſh'd under the Tyranny of *Spaniſh* Governors, was the young Princes unpardonable Crime. While *Don Carlos* ſollicited his going to *Flanders*, there fell out an Accident which haſten'd his Ruin, for playing with *Don John* in the Queen's Apartment, and loſing to him, he flew out in a Rage, reproach'd him with his Birth, calling him *Baſtard*, and Son of a *Wh*———. *Don John* reply'd, *Si yo ſoy mas yo tengo Padre Mejor que Vos*, what if I am, my Father was a better Man than Yours. *Don Carlos* wou'd have ſtruck him, had not the Queen parted them. And *Don John* to revenge himſelf, did a very ungenerous Action. The Prince, his Nephew, was the moſt indiſcreet Man in the World, a very unfit Perſon to be truſted with ſo important a Secret, as a Confederacy to deprive his Father of Seventeen of his beſt Provinces. The Neceſſity of the *Flemings* Affairs compell'd them, to put all to the Adventure, and propoſe it to him, who cou'd not forbear Communicating the Deſign to his Miſtreſs, the Queen, and ſhe adviſ'd

adviſ'd him by no means to let *Don John* come to the Knowledge of it, notwithſtanding this Caution, either thro' Vanity or Levity, he drop'd ſome Expreſſions before his Uncle, which were enough to beget a Suſpicion of what he intended, and in reſentment of his Affront at the Queen's Apartment, he told the King he ſuſpected the Prince, his Son, was engag'd in a Conſpiracy in favour of the Rebels in the *Netherlands*. *Philip* having heard of the difference between his Son, and his Brother, took little notice of his Information, nor of the Arguments he made uſe of to perſwade him, there was ſomething in it, believing 'twas the Effect of his Malice, till a few Days after. *Raymund de Tourtaſis*, Poſt-maſter General, inform'd him that a *Frenchman* belonging to the Queen had been to hire three Horſes, to be ready about Twi-light. Then the King ſearch'd into the bottom of the Buſineſs, and found out that theſe Horſes were hir'd by *Don Carlos*'s Order, and intended for his Eſcape. Which Diſcovery happening juſt upon the Inſurrection of the *Moors*, confirm'd the King's Suſpicion, and that working on his Jealouſie, provok'd him to deal by his Son, as is at large related in the Hiſtories of that Time and Nation. *Don John* was inſtrumental in ſecuring the Prince's Perſon. And his Father commanded he ſhou'd be put to Death, having

ving been firſt Examin'd by the Inquiſitors. Some Authors write that his Veins were open'd, and that he dy'd by Bleeding; and others ſay, he was Poiſon'd.

To reward *Don John*'s Fidelity, King *Philip* gave him the Vice-Royſhip of *Grenada*, where the new converted *Moors* relaps'd to their old Idolatry, and broke out into Rebellion againſt the Catholick King, to whom that Kingdom had been ſubject ever ſince the Conqueſt of it by *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* in the Year 1492. *Porto Guerrero* was Archbiſhop of *Grenada*, and held a Synod of the Biſhops and Doctors of his Province, who reſolv'd to Treat the *Moors* as Hereticks, and give 'em up to the Juriſdiction of the Inquiſitors, if they wou'd not leave their Language, Cuſtoms and Ceremonies, and Conform themſelves to the ridiculous Rigour of the *Spaniſh* Diſcipline. The Inquiſition deſtroy'd ſeveral Hundred Thouſand of thoſe Wretches, and reduc'd that populous Country to a Deſert; thoſe who remain'd alive took Arms, as we have ſaid, to deliver themſelves from the inſupportable Tyranny of that bloody Court. This Defection was owing to the Bigottry of the Archbiſhop *Porto Guerrero*, an unhappy Name and Houſe to *Spain*, the preſent Cardinal *Porto Carrero*, a Deſcendant of that Family, having been the Inſtrument of their King *Charles* the Second's preten-

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ded Will, and of the War about the Duke of *Anjou*'s Succeſſion in our days.

'Twas the attempting to Set up an Inquiſition in *Flanders*, that occaſion'd the Revolt in the *Netherlands*. 'Twas the Inquiſition that adviſ'd King *Philip* to murder his Son for favouring the *Peſtilent Northern Hereſy*. 'Twas the Inquiſition that forc'd the *Moors* of *Grenada* to Rebel, and has been the foundation of all the Troubles which have brought the *Spaniſh* Monarchy to the deſpicable Figure it now makes among the Crowns of *Europe*, whoſe Empire in the Reign of *Charles* the Vth. and *Philip* the IId. was in a fair way be Univerſal. So fatal has the Government of *Prieſts* been to that once flouriſhing Kingdom, and ſo fatal will it always be to the State, that is too much Influenc'd by their Councels.

Don John arriv'd at *Grenada* in the Year 1570, at the time when the *Moors*, under the Conduct of *Ferdinand de Valor*, whom they choſe to be their King, had driv'n the *Spaniards* out of the Field, Ravaging the Country on the one hand to the Walls of *Grenada*, and on the other making Inroads into *Andalouſia* to the Gates of *Cales*, threatning to Attack the City, which was ready enough of her ſelf to Rebel. King *Philip* as jealous of *Don John*'s Glory, as willing to have the Rebellion ſuppreſs'd, ſupply'd him very ſparingly with Men and Proviſions;

ſions; Commanded him not to ſtir from *Grenada*, and to leave the Management of the War to his Lieutenants, who differing among themſelves gave the Rebels an Opportunity to deſtroy them, and endanger'd the Loſs of the Kingdom. When Affairs were in this deſperate Condition, the King permitted *Don John* to put himſelf at the Head of his Army. The *Moors* grown wanton and mutinous with ſucceſs, Depos'd and Hang'd their King *Valor*, Deſcended from the ancient *Mooriſh* Kings, and plac'd *Abdala*, who ſeiz'd the Perſon of their late King in his room. *Don John* march'd with 9000 Foot and 600 Horſe to *Guejar*, which *Abdala* quitted on his approach, and retir'd to *Alpaxarra*. The Vice-Roy follow'd him, and the *Moor* abandon'd that Town alſo. Here *Lewis de Quiſciada*, *Don John*'s Tutor, was kill'd by a Stone thrown down from a high Place on him by a *Mooriſh* Woman. The Vice-Roy march'd from thence to *Galera*, and Commanded the Duke of *Seſſa* to attack *Orgiva*. *Abdala* in the mean time endeavour'd to ſurprize *Almunecar* in the Night, but was repuls'd by the Governor. To revenge himſelf for his Misfortune and Diſappointment he laid an Ambuſcade for the Duke of *Seſſa*, routed his Party, and took a conſiderable Booty. Other Skirmiſhes happen'd between the *Moors* and the *Spaniards*, ſometimes to the

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Advantage of the former, and ſometimes of the latter, whoſe Numbers increaſing by Reinforcements from all Parts of *Spain*, the Rebels began to hearken to a Treaty of Peace; but the *Spaniards* having Maſſacred the *Mooriſh* Deputies at *Aborax*, the *Moors* did the ſame by the Kings, and the Arch-Rebel *Melique* fled with the Remains of the Infidels, who were in Arms, to the Mountains. The Duke of *Arcos*, with 600 Men, purſu'd him ſo cloſe that he cou'd not avoid the Combat. He gave Battel to the *Spaniards*, and being kill'd in it, fighting bravely, his Followers ran away, and the Rebels never appear'd again in a Body. They were forc'd to ſubmit to the King's Mercy, and thus was the Kingdom of *Grenada* once more reduc'd to the Obedience of the *Spaniards*. *Don John* had ſooner put an end to the War, had not his Brother's Jealouſy confin'd him to that City.

In the Year 1572, the Pope *Pius* the Vth. and the *Venetians*, Sollicited the Catholick King to enter with them into a Confederacy againſt the *Turks*, who had beaten the *Venetians* out of *Cyprus*, and were preparing to puſh their Conqueſts farther. King *Philip* was at laſt perſwaded to Engage in it, and Commanded his Gallies to be Equipt, and 20000 Land Forces to be put on Board. The Pope, and the *Venetians*, Order'd their Admirals to join the *Spaniſh* Fleet,

Fleet, which was to Rendezvous at *Meſſina* in *Sicily*. The Pope offer'd the Duke of *Savoy* to be General of the League, who Excus'd himſelf, pretending Indiſpoſition. He made the ſame Complement to the Duke of *Anjou*, who did not care to leave *France*, and alledg'd the Affairs of that Kingdom requir'd his Preſence there. *Don John* was the third Prince to whom the Pope offer'd the *Batoon* of Command, and by his Brother's Permiſſion he Accepted of it. *Requeſens* was put upon him for his Lieutenant, rather to Obſerve than Aſſiſt him. About the middle of *July Don John* went aboard the Fleet, and ſet Sail for *Genoa*, where he arriv'd the 26th. and having giv'n *John Doria*, Admiral of *Genoa*, Inſtructions to take ſeveral *Spaniſh* and *German* Regiments aboard, and to haſten to *Meſſina*, He ſail'd the firſt of *Auguſt* for *Naples*, where Cardinal *Perenotta*, the Vice-Roy, preſented him, in his Holineſs's Name, with the *Holy Standard*, the Mark of Sovereign Power. Here the Marquiſs of St. *Croix* took on board his Squadron ſome *Italian* Regiments; and *Don John*, to loſe no time, ſail'd to the place of Rendezvous, leaving Orders with all the Officers who were not ready, to follow him as faſt as they cou'd with Convenience. On his arrival at *Meſſina* he was receiv'd with Honour by *Antonio Colonna*, the Pope's Admiral, and Lieutenant

tenant General of the League, and by *Sebaſtian Veniero* and *Juſtinian Barberigo*, the *Venitian* Admirals; immediately a Council of War was held, at which all the General Officers were preſent. *Don John* ſpoke firſt, he pity'd the deplorable Condition of the Republick of *Venice*, inform'd them what Forces he had with him and expected to join him, 81 Gallies, 32 Ships of Burthen, 22000 *Spaniſh*, *German* and *Italian* Foot, and demanded their Opinion how they ſhou'd proceed.

They did not at this meeting come to any Reſolution, waiting till *John Doria*, and the Marquiſs of St. *Croix* arriv'd with the *Spaniſh* and *Genoeſe* Gallies, and the *Venetian* Squadron came up from *Candia*. The Marquiſs of St. *Croix* and *Doria* arriv'd in a few Days, the *Venetians* ſtaid longer, tho' they were moſt concern'd in the War, having loſt *Cyprus*, and the greateſt Part of *Dalmatia*. There was a *French* Gentleman, Monſieur *de Romegas*, aboard the Fleet, who was an old Sea Officer, and a Perſon in whoſe Honour and Experience *Don John* cou'd confide. He ask'd him in private, what he wou'd adviſe him to Undertake. *Romegas* anſwer'd, *If the Emperor, your Father, had ever ſeen ſuch a Fleet at Sea as this is, which is under your Command, he wou'd never have been at reſt, till he had been Emperor of* Conſtantinople,

tinople, *and what wou'd have hinder'd him?* *Don John* reply'd, *You wou'd from hence infer, that we muſt give the* Turks *Battel.* The *Frenchman* ſaid, *Yes Sir, what elſe can it mean. Well then,* let us Fight ſays *Don John,* and calling a ſecond great Council of War, he declar'd it to be his Opinion. *Colonna* anſwer'd, *Etiamſi oporteat me Mori non te Negabo. Veniero, Berberigo, Doria,* and the reſt of the Generals approv'd of it, eſpecially when they were inform'd by *Odeſchalchi,* a Biſhop Militant, who was Aboard to Bleſs their Arms, that his Holineſs had Aſſurance from Heaven, if the Chriſtians attack'd the *Turks* they wou'd have a famous Victory over them. It being reſolv'd to Engage, *Giles d'Andrade* was detatch'd with two light Ships to get Intelligence of the Enemy, who after they had ravag'd, burnt and deſtroy'd the Iſlands of *Corfou* and *Cephalonia* were come to an Anchor in the Gulph of *Lepanto,* and ſo little did they expect the Chriſtians, that they diſmiſt the Pirates of *Barbary,* who made Sixty Sail.

The Seaſon was far advanc'd, and theſe Robbers never ſtay in the *Turkiſh* Fleet, after the Month of *September,* Winter being their Harveſt, and the time allow'd them by the Grand Signior to go a Roving, on Condition they join the Grand Fleet in the

the Summer. *Andrade* return'd to *Messina*, and brought an account that the *Turks* lay at Anchor in the Gulph of *Lepanto*. On which 'twas resolv'd to Sail thither, the Christian Fleet were divided into four Divisions; one to the Right, consisting of 50 Gallies, and two large Galleasses, commanded by *John Doria*; another to the Left, under *Barberigo*, the *Venetian* Admiral, who had also 50 Gallies, and two Galleasses in his Division. *Don John* led the main Body of 70 Gallies, and the Marquiss of St. *Croix* brought up the Rear with 30 Gallies. The Galleasses were tow'd along for want of Wind, two of these were to be posted before each Division, to sustain the Enemies shock, and to break their Lines with their Fire, for they were loaden with Artillery. The 15th of *September* the Fleet set Sail, and made to *Corfou*. While they lay in the Port of *Geminezzo Caragiali*, an old Pirate past through the Christian Fleet in the Night, told the Number of their Ships, landed and brought off four Soldiers, who were walking on the Shoar, and return'd undiscover'd to the Admiral *Bassa Pertau*, who Examin'd the Prisoners, and had from them the first Notice of the Christians advancing to give him Battel. He presently held Council, some were for Retreating, some for Fighting, till the *Renegade Uluchialy* shew'd the Grand Signior's positive Orders to

Fight, which decided the Controverſy, and the *Turks* prepar'd to Engage. The Admiral *Baſſa* drew 5000 Men out of the Garriſons in the Gulph to ſerve by Sea, and diſpos'd every thing as well as the ſhort time he had for it wou'd permit. In the mean while a Difference happen'd between *Don John* and *Veniero*, one of the *Venetian* Admirals, which had like to have ruin'd all their Projects. *Don John* had plac'd an inſolent Captain of a Gally in *Veniero*'s Squadron, which, with his own, made the main Body of the Fleet. The Captain being complain'd of to his General, *Veniero* commanded him to do his Duty better. The Ruffian inſtead of obeying his Commands, kill'd the Officer that brought them; for which *Veniero* order'd him to be hang'd, with others of his Comrades, who were taken reſiſting. *Don John* had Reaſon to reſent the Proceeding of the *Venetian* Admiral, who ought not to have gone ſo far without his conſent. The matter was near coming to a Rupture, and the Conſequence had been fatal, if the young Prince of *Parma* had not made it up between them. *Don John* perſiſted ſo far in his Reſentment, that he wou'd never ſuffer *Veniero* to come into his Preſence, and *Barberigo* attended alone at all Deliberations.

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The 3d of *October* the Chriſtians ſail'd from *Geminezzo*, and on the 7th they diſcover'd the *Turkiſh* Fleet near the Streight of the Gulph of *Lepanto*, about four Miles off of them. *Don John* fir'd a Gun from the Admiral Galley, by way of Defiance. The Chriſtians rang'd themſelves preſently in order of Battel, the ſame exactly, as they obſerv'd in Sailing, which we have before related. On the Right-hand of *Don John*, was the Pope's Admiral Galley commanded by *Colona*, and next to *Colona* was the Admiral of *Savoy*, commanded by Monſieur *de Ligny*, having the young Duke of *Urbin* on Board; *Veniero* was on the left of *Don John*'s Ship, and next to the *Venetian* was poſted the Admiral of *Genoa*, in which was *Alexander Farneſe*, Prince of *Parma*. *Orſino*, and the Admiral of *Maltha*, were on the Right and Left, a Stern of the General, and immediately behind him *Requeſcens*, his Lieutenant, in the Admiral Galley of *Spain*. The Admiral *Baſſa* ſeeing the Chriſtians approaching in order of Battel, advanc'd to meet them. Himſelf led the main Body of 160 Gallies. By him *Ali* General of the Land Forces, poſted himſelf, the *Baſſa* of *Alexandria* commanded the Right-wing, and *Uluchialy Sagiac* of *Algier* the Left. Not in the Form of a half Moon, according to the *Turkiſh* Cuſtom, but with an equal Front. Monſieur *Brantome* in his Memoirs, ſpeak-

ing of the Order of the *Turks* Battel, which he had from an Officer who was in it, ſays, *Celle du Turc eſtant en un tres bel ordre de Croiſſant*, The *Turks* coming on in good Order, in the Form of a Creſcent.

The Author of *Don John* of *Auſtria*'s Life, writes the quite contrary, and the difference in the Diſcription of this Famous Battel, and others, which we have had occaſion to relate, is ſo great, that we have been often at a loſs what Accounts to make uſe of, we have always prefer'd thoſe who were lateſt, written by Perſons on the Spot or Contemporary with the Action. And yet we cannot promiſe the Reader, that he ſhall never find the ſame Actions related in another manner. We have taken the beſt Method not to be deceiv'd; yet, if we do not agree always with other Authors, we ought not to be condemn'd by any one, before he is ſure that their Memoirs are more Authentick than ours. We might give a hundred Inſtances of Differences in Hiſtory, even about modern Events, but it wou'd make the Digreſſion too tedious in this Place.

Don John, when he perceiv'd the *Turks* were advancing, went in a Brigantine from Galley to Galley to encourage the Seamen and Soldiers to do their Duty, holding a Crucifix in his Hand to warm their Zeal and animate 'em by the Righteouſneſs of their

their Cauſe. Then he return'd to his Galley, hoiſted up the *Holy Standard*, and fir'd a Gun, which was the Signal for Engageing. *Uluchialy* at the Head of the *Turks* Left-wing, ſail'd along cloſe under the Shoar, which cover'd his Gallies ſo well, that the Chriſtians did not preſently perceive 'em. *Doria* in *Don John*'s Right-wing, fearing to be inclos'd by the Infidels, who came upon him unawares, turn'd the Prow of his Galley from that of the Enemy, which gave the *Turks* an opportunity to make a powerful Effort on his Line, and to break it. *Doria* did what he cou'd to recover his Fault, and the Battel began here to be Bloody and Doubtful. In the mean time *Barberigo* in the Left, fought the *Baſſa* of *Alexandria*, and the *Turks* Right-wing, and the Chriſtian Officers following the Example of their Admiral did Wonders. The *Turks* attack'd *Barberigo*'s Galley, with two or three of their own at once. The *Venetian* defended himſelf to Admiration, he receiv'd a wound in his Eye by an Arrow which ſtuck there, and knowing 'twou'd kill him preſently to take it out; he wou'd ſee the Combat firſt over, and when he ſaw the Victory was on the Chriſtian ſide, he patiently ſuffer'd and dy'd in the Operation. His Nephew, *Contarini* ſucceeded in his Place, and was kill'd in the Battel. In the ſame Wing *Quirini*

and *Andrea Barberigo* loſt their Lives. But the Fight, as it was the ſharpeſt, ſo 'twas the ſhorteſt on this ſide; for the *Turks*, whoſe Courage abated as the Chriſtians increas'd, ſeeing their Gallies near Land, and that the Chriſtians were preparing to board them ran them aground, and leap'd aſhoar. Here Victory declar'd firſt for the Chriſtians.

In the main Body *Don John* fought Galley to Galley with the Admiral Baſſa, at laſt the Chriſtians boarded the *Turks*, made themſelves Maſter of their Admiral, cut in pieces all that reſiſted, and the Baſſa himſelf falling in the Fight, they chop'd off his Head, and advanc'd it on the top of a Spear, as a Trophy of Victory. During the Diſpute *Colona* and *Veniero* were as Brave and as Fortunate, and the Infidels diſcourag'd by the death of their General gave ground every where, but in the Left Wing. *Uluchialy* and *Doria* ſtill fought it out there with equal Advantage, being both reputed the beſt Officers in the Chriſtian and *Turkiſh* Fleets; *Loredano* and *Malepieno*, *Veniero*'s Seconds, were kill'd in the Fight. The Captains, who ſucceeded them, reveng'd their Deaths, and took the two Gallies with whom they engag'd. *Ali*'s Galley was ſunk, and himſelf kill'd, his two Sons were taken Priſoners. *Veniero* and *Colona* did the ſame by the 2 Gallies that fought them. *Jer-*

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rom *Veniero*, and ſeveral Perſons of Quality, were ſlain as they were boarding the *Turks*. *Honorius Cajetan* ſlew the famous Pyrate *Caracoza*, and took his Galley. The Chriſtians main Body having entirely routed, taken and deſtroy'd that of the *Turks*. *Don John* ſeeing *Doria* was ſtill fighting doubtfully with *Uluchialy* haſten'd to his Aſſiſtance, and ſoon decided the Controverſy. The Renegade gave way to his Numbers, and fought retreating, carrying 32 Gallies off with him, all that were left of the *Turkiſh* Fleet, which before the Battel conſiſted of 260 Gallies and Galliots. *Uluchialy* took five *Venetian* Gallies, one of *Maltha*, one of *Savoy*, one of *Genoa*, and one of the Pope's, and bore 'em off with him in a ſort of Triumph to *Conſtantinople*. *Doria* purſu'd him all that day, and loſt him in the Night. For his good Service the Grand Seignior made him Admiral Baſſa, in the room of *Pertau*. Thus ended the Battel of *Lepanto*, in which *Don John*, for his Conduct and Courage, acquir'd Immortal Glory. The *Turks* loſt 30000 Men kill'd in the Fight, and 6000 taken. Among the Slain were,

The Admiral Baſſa *Pertau*. *Mahomet Bey* Governor of *Metelin*. Baſſa *Ali* General of the Land Forces. *Idey Bey* Governor of *Scio*. *Ahmalbey* Captain of the Janiſaries. *Campſau Bey* Governor of *Rhodes*. *Aſſan* Baſſa, Son of *Barbaroſſa*, King of *Algiers*.

Amaſa King of *Tripoly*. *Prontſaga* Governor of *Napoli di Romania*. *Cayga* Governor of *Gallipoly*. *Jaſer Aga* Vice-Roy of *Tripoly* in *Syria*. *Maret Aga* Son of the Pyrate *Dragut*; and ſeveral other Officers of Note. *Mahomet* Governor of *Negropont*, *Sirocco* Baſſa of *Alexandria*, were taken Priſoners, with *Ali*'s two Sons, whom *Don John* ſent to the Pope, one of them dy'd by the way, the other was honourably Treated at *Rome*, and Lodg'd in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*. Twelve Thouſand Chriſtian Slaves were releas'd. The Chriſtians had near 10000 Men kill'd and Wounded. Of the Great Officers *Barberigo*, *Jerom Veniero*, *Orſino* and *Don de Cardenas*, were moſt lamented, eſpecially the two former. The Chriſtians ſuffer'd moſt in their Right-wing, *Uluchialy* ſunk ſix Gallies, and took nine. In the Left-wing, and the main Body the loſs was inconſiderable. *Don John* wou'd have perſu'd his Victory, if *Veniero* had not oppos'd it, pretending that the ſick and wounded ſhou'd be firſt put Aſhoar. His envy and hatred of the Prince inſtigated him, to ſpeak and act contrary to his Opinion, and the State of *Venice* being acquainted with the difference between them, order'd *Philip Bragandin* to take on him the Command of their Gallies, leaving *Veniero* the Name of Admiral. *Veniero* knew what they meant by it, and reſented it ſo far, that he hinder'd

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Brigandines coming out of the *Adritack* to reinforce the Chriſtian Fleet, oppoſing every thing by virtue of his ſuperior Power, which was a great hindrance to the Proſecuting their late Succeſs. Winter came on a pace, and the Council of War reſolv'd to return, ſo *Don John* Sail'd to *Corfou*, and from thence to *Meſſina*, where he enter'd in Triumph.

Pope *Pius* the Vth dy'd, in the beginning of the next Year 1573. and was ſucceeded in the Pontificate by *Gregory* the XIIIth, who continu'd *Colona* Admiral of his Fleet, and ſeem'd as hearty in the War as his Predeceſſor. King *Philip*, was alarm'd with the March of the *French* towards the Borders of *Milan*, and tho' he order'd *Don John* to Winter in *Italy*, yet his Preparations for carrying on the War againſt the *Turk* went on very ſlowly. He was afraid to truſt the new Pope, and the *Venetians* were afraid to truſt him, which difference among the Confederates was not like to Produce any great Matters. *Don John* preſt the *Spaniſh* Miniſters to haſten Supplies, they anſwer'd him with fair Promiſes, and kept him in Port at *Meſſina*, till after the Pope's, and the *Venetian* Gallies were at Sea. They Rendezvous'd as had before been appointed at *Corfou*, and diſpatch'd a Meſſenger to *Don John* to give him notice of their

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Arrival, and to desire him to join them as soon as possible. Nothing cou'd vex him more than to hear that both of the Confederate Generals were ready, and staying for him, while he lay in Port, expecting Orders, which at last came for him to Sail to the Place of Rendezvous. The *Venetians* had turn'd out *Veniero*, and given the command of their Fleet to Signior *Superant*, who in *Don John*'s Absence, Cruising with the Gallies of the State, and some of the Pope's Gallies met *Uluchialy*, and the *Turkish* Fleet of 70 Gallies. They Cannonaded each other till they were weary on both Sides, and parted by consent. The Summer, by the *Spaniards* delays, was lost, for 'twas the 11th of *September* before the Christians Sail'd for *Corfou*. The 13th they Arriv'd at *Cephalonia*, and staid there two Days to refresh, then they proceeded with a fair Wind towards *Modon*, intending to wait there for the *Turkish* Fleet, which they heard was at *Junco*, but by the ignorance of the Pilot, they mistook the Port, and put into *Prota*, two Leagues to the West of *Junco*. The *Turks* hearing they were there, and design'd for *Modon*, retreated thither themselves, and were safe in that Port, *Don John* follow'd them, and *Colona* fought and took some of their Gallies, that were separated from *Uluchialy*. The Christians

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offer'd him Battel before the Port of *Modon*. The *Renegade* knew they out number'd him, and wou'd not ſtir, till he ſaw the Confederates under Sail, then he perſu'd them in hopes to pick up the Straglers. *Don John* tacking about, *Uluchialy*, ran again into the Port of *Modon*, and the Chriſtians Sail'd to *Corfou*, as well to take in freſh Water, as to hinder the Infidels returning to *Conſtantinople*. *Uluchialy* landed 3000 Men in the *Morea* near *Modon*, and attack'd the Chriſtians who dwelt there, under the Government of the State of *Venice*. *Don John* ſent *Paul Sforza* to their Aſſiſtance, and follow'd him in Perſon, which oblig'd the *Renegade* to make to his Boats. The Prince a ſecond time offer'd the *Turks* Battel, which they refuſing, he retir'd to *Junco*, a ſecure Port, and very proper to refreſh in. He order'd *Navarin*, a City of the *Morea* in the *Turks* Poſſeſſion to be inveſted. The Chriſtians brought the Garriſon to Extremity, and expected every Minute that they wou'd Capitulate; when they were inform'd that the Infidels were advancing with Numerous Forces to relieve 'em; and not being in a Condition to continue the Siege longer, they broke up, and went on Board.

Thus the Campaign was like to end unfortunately as it begun, and the Confederates ſeem'd more inclin'd to Peace, than War.

War. The *Venetians* desir'd the *French* King to propose a Treaty by his Ambassador at the Port for their Republick; and the Pope, who expected that his Admiral shou'd make another Entry into *Rome* in Triumph, after the manner of the Antient *Romans*, as he had done last Winter, was extreamly mortify'd, that the first Year of his Pontificate shou'd want such an Ornament. The Catholick King, by *Don John*'s earnest Solicitation, encourag'd his Allies to make one powerful Effort on the *Turks* Dominions before they parted, and *Tunis* was thought to be a Conquest, that wou'd bring most Advantage to *Christendom*. The City gives Name to a Kingdom on the *Barbary* Coast, 'tis five Miles in Circuit, well Built, and full of Merchants, *Gouletta* is a Fort at the Mouth of the Harbour of *Tunis*. 'Twas begun by the Pirate *Barbarossa*, who Usurp'd the Kingdom, and Reign'd as long as he Liv'd. *Charles* the Fifth Emperor of *Germany* in his Expedition to *Affrica*, finish'd it in the Year 1553.

Don John sail'd thither about the middle of *October*, with a Fleet of 108 Ships, having aboard 8000 *Spaniards*, 10000 *Italians*, and 2000 *Germans*. In two Days he reach'd the Coasts of *Barbary*, landed his Men without Opposition, and march'd directly to *Tunis*. Upon his approach *Radam*, the Governor, aban-

abandon'd the Town, as the Governor of *Gouletta* had done before him, and retir'd to *Caravan*. He did not want Men, having 6000 *Turks*, and 6000 *Tuniſeens* in Garriſon, but he dar'd not truſt them. *Don John* enter'd the City as a Conqueror, yet, he forbad his Soldiers to put the Inhabitants to the Sword. The Spoils were divided among them, and they got a prodigious Booty. He Commanded that a Cittadel ſhou'd be Built, between the Lake and the Town; himſelf drew the Plan of it, for he underſtood, and was a great Lover of Mathematicks, the Charge of Building it he committed to *Gabriel Cerbellon*, whom he call'd Father, and who was well verſt in Fortification. He gave him the Government of *Tunis*, with the Title of Vice-Roy, and left with him 22 Companies of *Italians*, under *Pagan Doria*, and 22 Companies of *Spaniards*, under *Andrea Salazar*, with *Lopez de Mendoza*'s Squadron of Horſe. He made *Sinoghera* Governour of the Iſle near *Tunis*, and ſent *Amida* the King, to *Naples*, where he liv'd and dy'd in want and miſery. His Brother *Amez* he advanc'd to be General of the *Tuniſeens*, who declar'd for him, and having diſpos'd of all Things at *Tunis* to his Mind, he march'd to *Biſerta*, ſuppos'd to be the antient *Utica*, which ſurrender'd on the firſt Summons, here he left 300 *Spaniards* in Garriſon, commanded by *Fran-*

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cis Davila. And Glorying in the Conqueſt of this Kingdom, more than in the Victory of *Lepanto*; he return'd to *Italy* to provide Neceſſaries for *Cerbellon* to finiſh the Cittadel, and ſend him Supplies of Men, Arms and Ammunition.

King *Philip* did not ſhew any great Joy, on the News of *Don John*'s good Fortune. He was affraid that the Prince intended to Erect a new Empire in *Africa*, and make *Tunis* the Seat of it, and inſtead of haſtening the Supplies, he delay'd ſending them ſo long, that before they were ready 'twas too late.

When the Grand Signior heard, *Don John* had made himſelf Maſter of *Tunis*, and the Chriſtians had lodg'd themſelves on the Coaſt of *Barbary*, he reſolv'd by the advice of *Uluchialy* to turn all his Strength that way, to recover the Places the Infidels had loſt. In *July* 1574. The *Turkiſh* Fleet of 296 Sail arriv'd on the *Barbary* Coaſt, and landed 40000 Men. The Governor of *Caravan* immediately inveſted *Gouletta*; the Garriſon conſiſted of 2000 *Germans*, *Spaniards* and *Italians*, commanded by *Porto Carrero*, a very indifferent Officer, whom the Soldiers by way of deriſion us'd to call *Puerco Carnero*, Pork and Mutton, *in Alluſion to his Name.* He defended the Place very ill, conſidering the Number of the Garriſon. *Amez* the *Tuniſeen* General, promis'd

miſs'd *Cerbellon* to harraſs the Country, and make a Diverſion for the Enemy, while he carry'd on his Works, which were not half finiſh'd. The *Moor* ſally'd out with 900 *Mooriſh* Horſe, and 4000 Foot, who coming within Musket-ſhot of the *Turks* ran all over to them; except 11 Companies of *Spaniſh* Foot, and *Mendoza*'s Squadron of Horſe, which the *Moor* brought off, and retir'd into the Fort. *Don John* poſted to *Naples*, as ſoon as he had advice of the Siege of *Gouletta*, and ſolicited Cardinal *Granvall*, the Vice-Roy, to expedite what Succours cou'd be got ready to relieve it. The Cardinal obſerving the ſlow Pace of the Court of *Spain* in the Affair, imitated their delays, and put him off from time to time with ſeveral Excuſes. *Don John* ſail'd himſelf to *Palermo*, to haſten away *Michael Doria*, who was at *Meſſina*, with 22 Gallies mann'd with *Italians*, waiting for Sailing Orders from *Madrid*. The *Turks* all this while were making uſe of the Advantage given 'em by the Negligence of the *Spaniard*, they reduc'd the Garriſon to the laſt Extremity, and brib'd ſome *Spaniſh* Soldiers to betray the Fort to them. By whoſe Treaſon within, and their Attacks without, they became Maſters of the Place; they put all to the Sword, except *Porto Carrero*. Prince *Amez*, who had thrown himſelf

himſelf into the Fort, and a Son of King *Amidas*; they demoliſh'd the Fort, and ran Ships Aſhoar on the Ruins by the Sea ſide to prevent the Chriſtian Fleets returning thither. *Cerbellon* defended the Cittadel Imperfect as it was, with incredible Bravery; he held it out three Months, and had the King of *Spain* been willing to preſerve this Conqueſt, he had time enough to have reliev'd it. The particulars of the Siege wou'd take up more Room, than we allow our ſelves for one of theſe Lives, and *Don John* not being preſent, and immediately concern'd in it, we think 'tis not neceſſary to enlarge farther on the Progreſs of the Beſiegers from time to time, and the Valour of the beſieg'd. From *Palermo*, the Prince return'd to *Naples*, and earneſtly entreated the Cardinal, Vice-Roy, to give him what help he cou'd. *Granvall* was ſo taken up with his Amours, that *Don John* gain'd but little by his Prayers, and was forc'd to wait there to no purpoſe, till he heard that the *Turks* were again Maſters of *Tunis*. He had at laſt got together 96 Ships from all Parts, and embark'd 10000 Soldiers, when News came that the Cittadel was after ſix or ſeven Aſſaults taken by Storm, and the Garriſon put to the Sword, as the Garriſon of *Gouletta* had been ſerv'd before, only *Cerbellon* was made Priſoner, to Ran-

ſom one of the *Turkiſh Baſſa*'s taken at the Battel of *Lepanto*. *Don John* was in deſpair to hear of the loſs of his new conquer'd Kingdom: And King *Philip* to comfort him, ſent him a kind Invitation to come to Court, where he had not been in three Years. There are ſome Authors who do not wholly excuſe him in the Buſineſs of *Tunis*; they ſay he loyter'd away his time at Tennis in *Naples*, and that he might have done more than he did. *Paſquin* at *Rome* ſpoke very freely on the matter, *El Cardinal con la Braguetta, Don Juan con la Ruquetta, han Perdido la Goletta.* The Cardinals Wh———, and *Don John*; Racket, were the loſs of *Tunis*. It ſeems Tennis was not his only Diverſion at *Naples*, he had his Miſtreſſes as well as the Cardinal Vice-Roy; one of them, the Lady *Diana de Felanca de Serana*, brought him a Daughter, who was call'd *Jeanne* of *Auſtria*, and marry'd afterwards to the Prince of *Botero* in *Sicily*.

Don John had reaſon to ſuſpect his Brother's Complements: He wou'd not forgive him, for taking ſo little care to preſerve *Tunis*, and wou'd not venture to Court, till he had Information from thence that the King was in earneſt in deſiring his Company there, and that he wou'd be welcome. He wrote to *Antonio Perez*, Secretary of State, to know how his Majeſty

wou'd receive him, *Perez* anſwer'd with all the Honours due to his Imperial Birth, and with the tenderneſs of a Brother. *Philip* met him at *Pardo*, and embrac'd him as Joyfully, as if he had indeed been glad to ſee him. The Pope for his Zeal and Services in the *Turkiſh* War, demanded of King *Philip* to give *Don John* the Title of King of *Tunis*, which his Catholick Majeſty evaded, and to ſatisfie his Brother, gave him the Government of the *Netherlands*, a much better preſent than the Pope's empty Title. As great a Bigot as *Philip* the IId. was to the Church of *Rome*, he did not think fit to encourage the Arrogance of the Apoſtolick Vicar, who wou'd Uſurp a Right to diſpoſe of Crowns, and Create Kings, as well as to make Prieſts, and grant Benefices.

In the Year 1575. *Charles de Croi*, a *Flemiſh* Lord, came to *Madrid* from *Flanders* to give the King an Account of the Miſerable State of the *Netherlands*, and to acquaint *Don John* with a Conſpiracy, carrying on there by ſome *Flemiſh* Catholicks, and *Engliſh* Fugitives, to deliver the *Scots* Queen, who was then in Priſon in *England*. That they pray'd him to be her Protector, and aſſur'd him that Princeſs wou'd Marry him, if by his Means ſhe procur'd her Liberty. The Prince was fir'd with theſe Hopes, and impatient to go to *Flanders*, and

and put the Project of the Conſpirators in execution. Juſt as things were ready for his departure, his Enemies whiſper'd about that he ſhou'd ſay, if ever he Marry'd Queen *Mary Stuart* he knew how to ſubject *Spain* by fortifying St. *Andrews* on the Frontiers of *Biſcaye*.

There was not a Man of Senſe in the *Spaniſh* Court, but believ'd his Enemies invented this Scandal to encreaſe the King's Jealouſy, and prevent *Don John*'s Journey to the *Netherlands*. *Philip* did not hearken to it ſo much as thoſe that Invented the Lye expected, yet it help'd to ſowr him the more, and meeting with other falſe Suggeſtions of the like nature ſome time after, it haſten'd the Prince to his Grave in the Flower of his Youth. He intended to Embark at *Naples*, and go by Sea to *Flanders*; but before he took Shipping, he wou'd perform his Vow to our Lady of *Loretto*, to go in Pilgrimage to the *Holy Chappel*, and thank the Virgin in her own Territories, for beſtowing on him the Victory at *Lepanto*. When he came there he behav'd himſelf with ſingular Devotion, and left large Preſents behind, both to our Lady, and to her Prieſts. With whoſe Bleſſings he departed to *Naples* to proceed to his Government. The Affairs of the *Netherlands* requir'd him to make what ſpeed he cou'd thither; and fearing his Paſſage,

by Sea, might be interrupted, he chang'd his Reſolution, and rode thro' *France*.

There were two Factions in *Flanders*, who tho' they diſſer'd among themſelves, yet agreed in their Hatred of Tyranny, and join'd to throw off the *Spaniſh* Yoke. The Nobles and Magiſtrates form'd the one, which being Compos'd of the Body of the States, were call'd *Statiſts*; they were for making no Alterations in Religion, and only for Defending their Civil Liberties. The Prince of *Orange*, and his Party, which conſiſted of ſome of the Nobles, and the greater number of the Trading People, made the other; they were not only for deſtroying the *Spaniſh* Tyranny, but for rooting out their Religion, and ſetting up the Reform'd. The Differences about Religion, hinder'd the general Defection of the 17 Provinces. The *Statiſts* were affraid of the *Gueux*, a Term of Ignominy given to the Proteſtants: And the *Gueux* were as fearful of the *Statiſts*, leaſt their liking the *Spaniſh* Religion might Reconcile them to their Government. Had the two Parties join'd heartily in the Common Cauſe, they were together ſo Numerous and Powerful, they woud have ſav'd *Don John* the trouble of Riding Poſt three or four Hundred Leagues. As it was, the *Spaniſh* Faction in the *Netherlands* were hard put to it; they were few in Number, and had little Intereſt in the Coun-

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try. They were either *Spaniards* born, or Penſioners of the Court of *Madrid*, who, for their private Intereſt, ſold the Publick Liberty to Foreigners, and did whatever the Court deſir'd of them. They were not able to Oppoſe the *Statiſts* and the *Gueux*, and had nothing to ſupport themſelves by, but a Standing Army of Mercenary *Spaniards* and *Italians*, not ſtrong enough to reſiſt the united Force of the Prince of *Orange*, and the *Statiſts*. The *Spaniards* were driven out of all the chief Cities, the Government was in the hands of a Council of State, moſt of them Enemies to the *Spaniſh* Nation. The Soldiers, who were turn'd out a Grazing, ſurpriz'd *Antwerp*, and enrich'd themſelves with the Plunder of that City. In this melancholy Poſture were Affairs in the *Netherlands*, when *Don John* was hourly expected by the *Spaniſh* Faction to take on him the Government. He hir'd a *French* Guide in *Italy*, and took only his Confident *Octavia Gonzague*, and two or three Servants with him. When he came to *Paris* he alighted at the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador's Houſe, and went that very Night incognito to Court, where there was a Ball, and 'tis ſaid he grew enamour'd of the Queen of *Navarre* (whom *Henry* the IVth. divorc'd) for her Beauty and fine Dancing. That Princeſs viſited him in *Flanders*, under pretence of Drinking the Waters at the *Spaw*.

The next day he took a view of the City, the publick Edifices, and what might entertain his Curiosity; after which he took Post again, and undiscover'd got out of the *French* Dominions into the Dutchy of *Luxemburgh* the 4th. of *Nov.* 1576. and Count *Mansfield*, of the *Spanish* Faction, deliver'd up the City to him. But the other Provinces show'd no Disposition to Obey him, and he found presently he was not strong enough to reduce them by force, for which reason he offer'd the *Statists* to Treat, having first giv'n the Council of State to understand, the King of *Spain* had sent him to be their Governor.

The *Statists* wou'd not own him as such, till they had Consulted the Prince of *Orange*, who resided at *Middleburgh* in *Zealand*. He advis'd them not to receive *Don John* as Governor, unless he wou'd Confirm all their Privileges, and send away all his *Spanish* Troops, otherwise to continue the Government in their own hands, to raise *German* Auxiliaries, and implore Aid of forreign Princes. The Governor of *Mons* Count *Lalain* was Order'd to lay up a Magazine of Arms and Ammunition at *Vavre*, between *Brussels* and *Namur*. They sent the Baron *d'Aubigny* to *England*, to desire Assistance of Queen *Elizabeth*. She gave him great hopes of her Protection, and 20000 Pounds was actually paid down by *Windebank*, her Agent

gent at *Bruſſels*, in part of 100000 Pounds, which ſhe promis'd to Lend them. She order'd her Envoy at *Madrid* to perſwade King *Philip* to withdraw his *Spaniſh* Soldiers out of the *Netherlands*, which wou'd be the readieſt way to ſettle the Peace of thoſe Provinces. The *Statiſts* having engag'd the Queen of *England* on their ſide, diſpatch'd *Iſchius* to *Don John* with ſuch haughty Conditions, that the Prince cou'd not in Honour ſend them any other Anſwer, than that he rejected them. 'Tis ſaid *Iſchius* was tempted to kill him at a private Conference, which he abhorr'd, and behav'd himſelf in his Negotiation to the Content of the Prince, and the States, only the latter thought he was too laviſh in the Praiſes of the Prince at his return. *Don John* to ſhow his readineſs to pleaſe them, Commanded the *Spaniards* that had poſſeſs'd themſelves of *Antwerp*, to ceaſe from all Acts of Hoſtility, which was not enough, without ordering them to reſtore to the Citizens the Riches they had Robb'd them of. The Prince of *Orange* was moſt averſe to Treat, and the *Statiſts* ſuſpecting he had ſome other deſign by it, beſides the Good of the Common Cauſe, inclin'd to it the more. The *Gueux* cou'd not maintain themſelves without the help of the *Statiſts*, and being out-voted, they conſented to depute Perſons to Treat for them, in conjunction

with the Deputies of the State. *Don John* appointed Commiſſioners to Treat with the Deputies, who, in a few Weeks, concluded the Peace call'd, the *Perpetual Edict*. The Articles were all in favour of the Prince of *Orange*, and the *Statiſts*. *Don John* thought the Commiſſioners had Granted too much, and that the *Statiſts* and *Gueux* ſhou'd rather have ſubmitted to Mercy, than have pretended to Favour. The Articles were Agreed to the 12th. of *February* 157$\frac{6}{7}$. They were publiſh'd at *Bruſſels* the 17th, and ſent to *Madrid* to be Ratify'd. The Ratification came back in *April*, which Determin'd *Don John* to Conſent to them, as *Octavio Gonzague*, and his Secretary *Eſcovedo*, had often Adviſ'd him.

He made his Publick Entry into *Louvain* the beginning of *March*, attended by the whole *Belgick* Nobility; he ſtay'd there two Months, to prepare for his triumphant Entrance into *Bruſſels*, the Capital of his Government. The Prince of *Orange* was not at all ſatisfy'd with the *perpetual Edict*, the Article of Religion left the Proteſtants too much to the Mercy of their Enemies, and he ſtill carry'd on his Deſigns to put it out of the Power of the Catholicks to deſtroy them. The *Spaniards*, by the late Treaty, were to Evacuate all the Towns in the *Netherlands*, and the Duke of *Arſchot*, a *Statiſt*,

tiſt, had the Keys of the City and Cittadel of *Antwerp* giv'n him. Count *Mansfield* led the *Spaniſh* and *Italian* Mercenaries into *Italy*, and *Don John* was left to the Fidelity of the *Flemmings*, having no Forces for his Guard but the Militia, and about a Thouſand *Germans* and *Italians* for the Safety of his Perſon. The Prince enter'd *Bruſſels* in *May*, the Pope's Nuncio rode on his right hand, and the Envoy of *Liege* on his left. He was then 32 Years of Age. The Solemnity was very magnificent, and himſelf the moſt ſhining and beautiful part of it. The Pope preſented him with 50000 Crowns. which he wanted to oppoſe the Enemies of his Government. The Prince of *Orange* Complain'd that the Queen of *England*, and the Duke of *Alencon*, his good Friends, were not mention'd in the *perpetual Edict*. That the Count *de Buren* was detain'd at *Madrid*, contrary to the Articles of Peace. He Remonſtrated upon it to the States of the *Netherlands*, who Anſwer'd, They were reſolv'd to maintain *that Treaty*. The Prince finding *Don John* got ground, and inſinuated himſelf into the Love of the *Flemmings*, ſeiz'd *Amſterdam* and *Utrecht*, and his Emiſſaries reported about, that the *Spaniards* were gone no farther than the *Franche Comté*, or were employ'd againſt the *Huguonots* of *France*. That many of 'em were hid in *Luxemburgh*, and waited only

only for the Signal from *Don John* to return into the *Netherlands*. That there were none but Forreigners in his Court, and that the Article of Religion was not in the leaſt obſerv'd. *Don John*, on the contrary, endeavour'd, by all popular Ways he cou'd think of, to gain the Love of the People, and he ſucceeded ſo far by his Generoſity and Complaiſance, that the *Gueux* began to be Allarm'd, and Conſpir'd to ſeize his Perſon, and carry him into *Holland*.

The Baron *de St. Aldgond*, and the Seigneur *de Heze* were the chief of the Conſpirators, 'tis pretended that Letters were intercepted, which diſcover'd the Plot, and that the Prince of *Orange* was in it. *Don John* ſent the Duke of *Arſchot*, and wrote very obliging Letters to the Prince, who told him in anſwer, *That his Heart was as much* Calvin *as his Head*, alluding to his Baldneſs, and that he expected farther Satisfaction on the Article of Religion. *De Heze* had been Governor of *Bruſſels*, during the Adminiſtration of the Council of State, and *Don John* ſuppoſing his diſcontent aroſe from the loſs of his Poſt, to pacifie him, aſſign'd a perpetual Penſion of 3000 Francs to him and his Heirs for ever. *De Heze* ſent him back his Grant, and renounc'd his Favour. The Prince was a Zealous Son of the Church, and ſuperſtitious to the height of the *Spaniſh* Bigotry.

He

He encourag'd the coming of Jeſuits into the *Netherlands*, and ſetting up Schools for them to teach Youth *Gratis*. The Proteſtants were enrag'd at this Innovation, at the Governors demanding of the States to declare the Prince of *Orange* an Enemy, and eſpecially at ſome Letters, which the King of *Navarr* intercepted in *Gaſcoigne*, and ſent to the Prince of *Orange*; they were written by *Don John* to King *Philip*, and *Antonio Perez*, his Secretary, and contain'd among other Things an Obſervation, *That the Duke of* Alva *and* Requeſens's *Methods, were beſt to reduce the* Netherlanders. *Eſcovedo, Don John*'s Secretary, had in his own name, added, *His Maſter was in deſpair, for want of the Succours promis'd him.* On the Diſcovery of his Correſpondence with the Court of *Spain*, contrary to the *perpetual Edict*, *Don John* found the *Flemings* grew cold towards him, and matters ran ſo high, that not thinking himſelf ſafe in *Bruſſels*, he retir'd to *Malines*.

Trelon, the Duke of *Arſcot*'s Lieutenant at *Antwerp*, promis'd to deliver that City to him. He complain'd to Queen *Elizabeth*, by his Agent in *England* of the Prince of *Orange*'s diſturbing the Peace. His complaints there were to little Purpoſe, the Court of *England* having been inform'd of his ill Practices with the *Scots* Queen, and

of

of the Infractions made on the *perpetual Edict*. He had no way to maintain his Authority, but by Force, and the firſt Town he attempted to recover was *Antwerp*. He commanded Col. *d'Euden* with his Regiment to march to *Antwerp*, and aſſiſt *Trelon*. The *Statiſts* having ſome notice of *Trelon*'s Treachery, and *d'Euden*'s march, order'd Col. *de Vers* to prevent him. *De Vers* met *d'Euden*, fought and defeated him. The Baron *de Leide Kirke*, and the Seignieur *de Noyelles* went to *Antwerp* with two Regiments of the *Statiſts* Troops, and inform'd the Magiſtrates and Officers that *Trelon* intended to Betray the Cittadel to the *Spaniards*; *Trelon*'s Company was on their Guard, *Noyelles* attack'd and beat them, kill'd 20, and took *Trelon* Priſoner. The *Germans*, who were in *Don John*'s pay, retir'd into the new Town, under Col. *Fronſbergh* and *Fowker*, from whence they were ſoon beaten by four Veſſels that appear'd of *Ooſterwell*, and by the Prince of *Orange*'s expreſs Command play'd on the *Germans*, who fled in the fright, *Fronsbergh* to *Breda*, and *Fowker* to *Bergen-op-zoom*. *Don John* doubting the Succeſs of his deſign in the Cittadel of *Antwerp*, went haſtily from *Malines* to *Namur*, pretending to go and receive the Queen of *Navar*, ſhe had demanded paſs Ports to go to the *Spaw*, tho' 'twas be-

believ'd her Buſineſs was rather to ſee that Prince, or as ſome write to engage as many of the *Flemings*, as ſhe cou'd by her Beauty and Eloquence in the intereſt of the Duke of *Alencon*, her Brother, who was endeavouring to make himſelf Maſter of the *Netherlands*. She got the Count *de Lalain* Governor of *Mons*, and the Governor of *Cambray* to promiſe that the *Pays Cambrenſis*, the City and Country of *Cambray*, *Mons* and *Hainault* ſhou'd declare for him. *Lalain* was waiting on her, when *Don John* met her in her way to *Namur*, as ſoon as he ſaw the Prince, he and his Followers took their leave without paying their Duty to him, *Lalain* holding his Government by virtue of a Commiſſion from the *Statiſts*. *Don John* had a ſplendid and numerous Train and Guard, twenty Lords of the firſt Rank attended him, the chief of whom were three of the Houſe of *Beſancon*: *Lewis de Gonzague*, a Prince related to the Duke of *Mantua* rode by his ſide. When he drew near the Queen, he alighted to ſalute her, ſhe was in her Sedan, high built and open, and return'd the Prince's Compliment, with her moſt Charming Airs, and ſhe was the moſt gallant and beſt Bred Princeſs in the World. He conducted her to *Namur*, and entertain'd her anſwerable to her Quality while ſhe ſtaid, yet underſtanding afterwards, that ſhe had debauch'd the

Flemings

Flemings from their Allegiance to King *Philip*, he ſent 300 Horſe commanded by Count *Barlemont* to intercept her in her return. But by the advice and aſſiſtance of Count *Lalain* ſhe eſcap'd them.

'Twas not long before the Queen came to *Namur*, that *Don John* had ſurpriz'd that City. He hunted in the Woods adjacent the 24th of *July* 1577. and from thence rode up to the Gates of the Caſtle. The Count *de Megue*, Count *de Barlemont*'s Son, and his two Brothers as had been concerted, ſtood there with their Piſtols in their Hands waiting his coming. When he came up to the Gates, they deſir'd him to view the Fortifications, and as ſoon as he was got in he drew forth a Piſtol, and ſaid, *Now I am indeed Governor of the* Netherlands. The Duke of *Arſcot*, who was with him, ſeeming ſurpriz'd, *Don John* told him, *What he did was for the ſafety of their Perſons*, and acquainted the Governor with the Proceedings of the *Statiſts*, and that there was a Conſpiracy to Seize him, that the Count *de Lalain* was in it, which oblig'd him to provide for himſelf.

The Governor *Froimont*, the Duke of *Arſchot*, the Prince of *Chimai*, his Son, and other Lords went away, as fearing to be concern'd in ſo bold and dangerous an Enterprize. *Don John* having ſettled his Affairs at *Namur*, return'd to *Bruſſels*, carrying

rying with him the Marquiſs *de Havre* Hoſtage for her Husband, the Marquiſs and her Brother-in-Law, the Duke of *Arſcot*. *Charlemont* was deliver'd to him by the Baron *de Hierge* in reſentment, that the Baron *de Mericour* was put over his Head by the *Statiſts* in that Government. Upon this *Don John* retir'd to *Malines* as has been ſaid, and diſpatch'd the Seigneur *de Raſſingham* to the *Statiſts*, to give them his Reaſons for acting in that manner. They order'd the Abbot *de Marolles* Arch-Deacon of *Ypres*, *Bucho Agella*, and the Sieur *de Bins* to wait on him, and entreat him not to give the State any Cauſe of Umbrage by his Conduct, to return to *Bruſſels*, and accept of 300 Men which they wou'd add to his Guard, proteſting they wou'd vigorouſly puniſh all that dar'd to attempt any thing againſt his Perſon.

The Prince, now in Poſſeſſion of the two beſt Poſts in the Seventeen Provinces, told the Abbot, that he wou'd no longer have Laws preſcrib'd him by the *Statiſts*, and expected their Obedience to his, or elſe he ſhou'd Treat 'em as *Rebels*. The *Statiſts* did not ſee *Don John* and *Eſcovedo*'s intercepted Letters, till five Days after the ſurprizal of *Namur*, which otherwiſe they wou'd have prevented. *Champigni* in their Name, had ſince made himſelf Maſter of

Bergen-

Bergen-op-zoom, and carry'd the *German* Officer, who commanded there for *Don John* of *Auſtria* Priſoner to *Bruſſels*. He alſo ſeiz'd *Breda*, a Town belonging to the Prince of *Orange*, and *Bois le Duc* in *Brabant* for the *Statiſts*. The Prince of *Orange* adviſ'd them to raiſe immediately 3000 Horſe, as the quickeſt way to drive *Don John* out of the *Netherlands*, but they waſted their time in Manifeſto's, and taking a few Places in *Brabant* and *Gueldreland*. The Abbot of St. *Gertrude* of *Louvain*, their Agent in *Holland*, deſir'd Succours of that Prince, who at firſt beg'd to be excus'd; yet afterwards with the Conſent of the States of *Holland* and *Zealand* he went to *Antwerp*, and from thence to *Bruſſels*, being receiv'd in both Cities with as much Honour as the King himſelf cou'd have been: On his Arrival ſeveral Lords, the chief of the *Statiſts*, deſerted the Common Cauſe.

The Duke *d'Arſcot*, the Marquiſs *d'Havre*, the Count *de Lalain*, the Baron *de Montigni*, Vicomte *de Vilaval*, *de Champigny*, *de Raſſingham* and *Zevegem*, fearing the Prince of *Orange* wou'd introduce *Hereſy*, (as they call'd it) ſent to the Emperor *Rodolphus* the IId. and pray'd him to give them the Arch-Duke *Matthias*, his Brother, for Governor. The Arch-Duke accepted of the offer, and arriv'd in *Brabant* the 21ſt of *November*.

'Tis

'Tis uncertain whether the Emperor conſented, however he diſſembl'd with King *Philip* and *Don John*, and ſeem'd to diſapprove of his Brother's Proceedings. The Prince of *Orange* was not privy to the calling in the Arch-Duke. The *Gueux* and the *Statiſts*, who favour'd them; advis'd the Prince to ſeize him, and carry him to *Ternon*. The Prince was too great a Politician to be guilty of ſo raſh an Action, choſing rather to govern the Arch-Duke, than to be Governor of the *Netherlands*.

During theſe attempts on *Don John*'s Authority, he was buſie with the Lords of the *Spaniſh* Faction, gathering Forces together to oppoſe the Arch-Duke, his Rival in the Government, he wrote to *Spain* and *Italy* for aid. And was extreamly mortify'd to find that both the *Spaniſh* Court, and the *Flemiſh* Lords, took ſo little notice of him, as to ſuffer a Forreigner to Uſurp his Office. His Party was the weakeſt, and he was oblig'd to bear with Patience the Affronts, of thoſe whom he had not Power to Chaſtiſe.

The Prince of *Orange* gain'd the Army of the *Statiſts* to his ſide, and inſinuated himſelf ſo far into the Arch-Duke's good Opinion, that he manag'd him as he pleas'd. And while *Matthias* had the name, that Prince was the real Governor; by his means *Gant* was ſurpriz'd, and the Duke

of *Arſcot*, *Raſſingham*, *Zeveghem*, and other diſaffected *Statiſts* were taken Priſoners. *Rihove*, an Officer in his Army, while the Prince was at *Antwerp*, careſſing the Arch-Duke, ſeiz'd that City, and thoſe Gentlemen in it. The *Statiſts* prevail'd with *Matthias* to command *Rihove* to diſarm, he laught at the Meſſage, and continu'd to do in *Gant*, what he thought wou'd be for the Intereſt of his Maſter and the *Gueux*. The Prince of *Orange* cou'd not protect him againſt the Clamours of the whole Body of the *Statiſts*, ſo *Rihove* gave the Duke of *Arſcot*, and the other Lords their Liberty, the Duke having firſt ſign'd a general Pardon. To pleaſe the Citizens of *Antwerp*, he raz'd that Part of the Citadel, which fac'd the City, and 'twas obſervable that the Ladies, to forward the work, gave their helping hand to demoliſh it. All the Statues and Monuments of the cruel Duke of *Alva*, and his Tyranny were pull'd down, and the 7th of *December* the *Statiſts* voted *Don John an Enemy to the State*, and reſolv'd to receive the Arch-Duke *Matthias* as their Governor. The 18th of *January* he remov'd from *Antwerp* to *Malines*, and took the Oaths as ſuch in the Town-Houſe, the ſame did the Prince of *Orange*, whom the Arch-Duke declar'd his Lieutenant. The latter prepar'd to attack *Don John* vigorouſly next Campaign,

paign, and to drive him out of *Belgia*, which he wou'd certainly have done, had not the Count *de Lalain*, the Vicount *de Gant*, the Counts *d'Egmond*, and *de Boſſu*, the Baron *de Berſelle*, the Marquiſs *de Bergh*, and *Valentine de la Mote*, General of the Artillery deſerted him. *Lalain*, *Egmont* and *Boſſu* were diſguſted at his Partiality to the Proteſtants, in giving *Goignie* the command of the Army under him. The others were Rigid Papiſts, and excus'd themſelves on ſeveral Pretences to retire.

Don John, hearing *Goignie* was encampt at *Gemblours*, that all his Troops were not come up, and that he cou'd never have a better opportunity to attack him. He march'd thither with his little Army, not half the Number of *Goignie*'s, fell on the *Statiſts*, and routed them, before the Prince of *Orange*, who had notice of his March and Deſign, cou'd join them. He kill'd 1200 on the Spot, and had cut of the reſt; had it not been for ſome Companies of *Engliſh* and *Scotch*, who not only made good their own Retreat, but cover'd thoſe that fled from the perſuit of the Enemy. *Don John*'s Army ſoon after was reinforc'd by the Arrival of *Pedro de Toledo*, Son of the Vice-Roy of *Sicily*, *Alphonſo de Leva*, the Vice-Roy of *Navar*'s Son, and 4 or 5000

Spaniards and *Italians*, and his dear Nephew, the Prince of *Parma*, brought 2000 Men from the *Milaneſe* to his Aſſiſtance.

The News of *Goignie*'s defeat, reach'd the Prince of *Orange* on *New-Years-Day*. The fright was ſo great, that the Arch-Duke retir'd from *Bruſſels* to *Antwerp*, and the former order'd the half Moon at the Gate of *Halle* to be rais'd, for the defence of *Bruſſels* on that Quarter. The Citizens of *Louvain*, upon *Don John*'s Victory at *Gemblours*, drove out the *Scotch* Garriſon, and gave the Keys of their City to *Gonzague*, that Prince's Confident, whom he ſent to take Poſſeſſion of it. Himſelf ſcour'd the Country to the Gates of *Bruſſels*, and took ſeveral Towns, as *Bouines*, *Tirlemont*, *Dieſt*, *Sichem*, *Arſcot*, *Vilvor'd*, *Bins*, *Valcour* and *Phillipville*. Yet notwithſtanding theſe Succeſſes in the Summer, there was ſtill a likelihood, that the Prince of *Orange*, before the Campaign was at an end, wou'd recover himſelf, and regain the Cities in leſs Time than they were loſt, having increas'd his Army to 30000 Men; and *Don John*'s, which was never more than 20000, being much waſted by Diſeaſes and Sieges. This Melancholly Proſpect, the delays of the Court of *Spain* in all Things, which were for

for his Service, and his *Chagrin* on that account, threw him into the Diſtemper (a Fever) of which he dy'd in the Caſtle of *Namur* the 1ſt of *October* 1578.

Some Authors ſay he dy'd of the Plague, and that the Marqueſe *de Havre*, whom he carry'd about with him, under pretence of keeping her as Hoſtage for her Husband, and Brother gave it him. Others write that he was Poiſon'd with perfum'd Socks, by order of *Antonio de Perez*, King *Philip*'s Miniſter and Secretary of State, who to revenge himſelf on *Eſcovedo*, *Don John*'s Secretary, for diſcovering his Amours with the Princeſs of *Eboly*, *Philip*'s Miſtreſs, forg'd Letters, ſuppos'd to be written by *Eſcovedo* to ſeveral Perſons, intimating a Deſign carrying on by *Don John* to make himſelf Sovereign of *Flanders*, *Milan* and *Naples*, which was enough with ſo Zealous a Prince, as *Philip* the IId. for him to conſent that he ſhou'd be taken off one way or other. *Eſcovedo* was at *Madrid*, ſoliciting Supplies for his Maſter, when he found out *Perez*'s intrigue with the Princeſs of *Eboly*. Him *Don Antonio* got to be aſſaſſinated, and dealt by his Maſter as we have related, The King when 'twas too late diſcover'd *Perez*'s Treaſon, for which and other Crimes he was diſgrac'd and fled to *England*. But theſe accounts are only met with in *French* Hiſtorians, who affect

to give a gallant Turn to all Extraordinary Events, and can ſcarce forbear in their moſt ſerious Hiſtories, to mingle Truth with Amorous and Romantick Fictions. Their Readers expect ſomething ſurpriſing to entertain and divert them; and as great Politicians as they are, there are few Events which are never ſo little Miſterious, but they reſolve 'em into Love.

Whether *Don John* had any ſuch thoughts or not, 'tis certain he was Ambitious, and Aſpiring, on which the *Spaniards* were wont to ſay of him,

El es verdadero hijo del Emperador.

He's the true Son of the Emperor.

He had a noble Preſence, was Brave, Courteous and Affable, of a great Soul, yet always willing to ſubmit to Council. He left the Prince of *Parma* his Succeſſor in the Government of the *Netherlands*, and King *Philip* confirm'd him in it.

THE

THE LIFE OF *WILLIAM* the First. PRINCE of *Orange*.

PART II.

THE Houſe of *Naſſau* may boaſt of being one of the moſt ancient in *Europe*; *Cæſar* mentions a Prince of that Name in his *Commentaries*, and the Situation of his Country agrees exactly with that of the County of *Naſſau*, part of the Country of

Heſſe in *Germany*. Certain it is, that above 1000 Years ſince, the Princes of *Naſſau* were Sovereigns in *Germany*, a long time before the Anceſtors of the Houſe of *Bourbon* rais'd themſelves to be Servants in the Court of *France*.

The Houſe of *Chalons*, from whom the Principality of *Orange* deſcended to that of *Naſſau*, was fruitful in Heroes, Heads of Council, and Captains of Armies. *Philibert de Chalons* the laſt Prince of *Orange* of that Houſe, on the Death of the Conſtable of *Bourbon*, was unanimouſly Choſen to Command the *Imperial* Army then before *Rome*. He took and plunder'd that proud City, and had not Monſieur *Lautree*, the *French* General, come too cloſe on him, 'tis ſaid he wou'd have Crown'd himſelf King of *Rome*, once Miſtreſs of the World.

He had one only Daughter, who Marry'd *Henry* Count of *Naſſau*, Father of *Renè*, firſt Prince of *Orange* of the Houſe of *Naſſau*, who dying without Iſſue, left his Principality of *Orange*, and all his other Lands, to his Couſin German *William*, Son of *William* Count of *Naſſau*, Brother of Count *Henry*, by his Wife the Counteſs of *Stolburg*.

William the Firſt, Prince of *Orange*, was Born in the Caſtle of *Dillemburgh* in the County of *Naſſau*, in the Year 1533. The Emperor *Charles* the 5th, who ow'd his *Imperial* Crown to the Intrigues of Count

Henry

Henry, was very Fond of Prince *William* his Nephew, and out of Fondneſs, as he pretended, ſent for him to *Vienna*, to take care himſelf of his Education. The true Reaſon was to Breed him up a Papiſt, his Father having baniſh'd Popery out of his Territories. Count *William* was very loath to part with his Son, yet he cou'd not reſiſt the Emperor's kind Invitation and Promiſes. When he came to *Vienna*, *Charles* the 5th. ſet Popiſh Preceptors over him, and whilſt the Emperor liv'd Prince *William* profeſs'd the Catholick Religion, in which he continu'd for the firſt 2 or 3 Years of his Son King *Philip* the Second's Reign. When he was Old enough, he was made Gentleman of the Emperor's Bed Chamber; nine Years he enjoy'd that Office, and was always near his Majeſty's Perſon, who was extreamly pleas'd with the Greatneſs of his Soul, and the Modeſty of his Behaviour. He delighted to teach him himſelf the Arts of Government, and when he gave private Audience to Ambaſſadors, he wou'd not ſuffer the Prince to retire with the other Courtiers, but kept him with him, that he might learn by it to Qualify himſelf for the Management of Affairs. When *Charles* the 5th. Abdicated the Empire, the Kingdom of *Spain*, and his other Dominions, he Choſe the Prince of *Orange* to carry the *Imperial* Crown to *Ferdinand* the Emperor's Brother.

The

The young Prince told his Maſter, *That 'twas not decent for him to carry that Crown to another, which his Unkle* Henry *of* Naſſau *put on his Majeſty's head.* And indeed, 'twas with regret that he accepted of this honourable Commiſſion.

After the Battle of St. *Quintin*, the Duke of *Savoy*, who Commanded King *Philip*'s Army in *Flanders*, was oblig'd to leave it on account of his particular Affairs in *Italy*. King *Philip* gave his Command to the Prince of *Orange*, tho' he was ſcarce Three and Twenty Years of Age: He built *Phillipville* and *Charlemont*, in the Provinces of *Hainault* and *Namur*, in ſight of the *French* Army; who, tho' ſuperiour to his, and commanded by Admiral *Coligny*, and the Duke of *Nevers*, yet dar'd not attack him.

The Diſtinction which King *Philip* ſhew'd him, created him many Enemies, envious of his Proſperity, and the *Spaniards* about that Monarch, repreſented his moſt innocent Actions ſo foully, that *Phillip* early grew jealous of him, and forgot the Emperor, his Father's recommmendation of him, when he retir'd to *Spain*. The *Spaniards* pretended, that all the Oppoſition which the King met with from the States of the *Low-Countries*, was rais'd by the Prince of *Orange*'s Faction. And when the King left the *Netherlands*, he reproach'd the Prince publickly at *Fluſhing*, where he was going to embark

bark for *Spain*, *That he had by his secret Cabals, hinder'd the Execution of his designs*, and the Prince submissively replying, *What was done, was the pure motion of the States.* The King shook him by the Hand, and said? *No, 'tis not the States doing, but Yours, Yours, Yours.* Repeating his Accusation, according to the *Spanish* Custom, to shew the Violence of his Resentment.

The Prince, who was as angry as the King, took a hasty Leave of him, and left him in the middle of the Town, where he knew he was safe in the Love of the People, Cardinal *Granval*, King *Philip*'s Favourite, and Governor of the *Low Countries*, under his Sister *Margaret*, was the Prince of *Orange*'s profest Enemy, and obnoxious for his Cruelty to the *Flemish* Nation, and the King had carry'd himself so imperiously, and scornfully to the Nobility of those Provinces, that he was generally hated by them.

Their first publick Action against his Authority, was in an Assembly of the States at *Gant*. When they seiz'd on the Sovereign Power to hold it till their Grievances were redress'd. They sent Deputies with a Petition to the King; containing their Demands, which were to dismiss his Foreign Ministers, and disband his *Spanish* Forces, and to employ the Natives of the Country. King *Philip* was in a terrible

Rage

Rage againſt the Prince of *Orange*, when he heard of theſe Proceedings, imagining, the Prince was in the bottom of all of them. He diſſembled for the preſent; but impolitickly order'd his Siſter, the Dutcheſs of *Parma*, to bring in the Inquiſition, and make ſeveral new Biſhops. Which provok'd the People beyond meaſure. They abhor'd the very Name of the Inquiſition, and of the new Prelates, who were to be Members of it. The Prince of *Orange*, the Count *d' Egmont*, and the Count *d' Horn*, not being able to endure *Granval*'s Arrogance any longer, wrote to the King of *Spain*, that unleſs he wou'd recal *Granval*, he wou'd certainly cauſe a Revolt in the Provinces by his Inſolence, and his violent Courſes. This Advice was look'd on as Criminal by King *Philip*'s Flatterers, and from that time he reſolv'd to get rid of thoſe three Lords one how or other, and to deſtroy their Party. But as yet he was not in a Condition to Execute his Revenge, ſo he recall'd *Granvall*.

The States ſent the Count *de Bergues*, and the Baron *de Montigny*, both Knights of the *Golden Fleece*, to inform the King of the Tumults and Diſorders in the Provinces, and to ſollicite the Redreſs of Grievances. The Dutcheſs of *Parma* advis'd her Brother to detain thoſe Lords while the Troubles laſted, and the States ſeeing their Ambaſſadors were Impriſon'd,

priſon'd, thought 'twas time to look to themſelves.

The Prince of *Orange* having notice, that the Duke of *Alva*, more inſolent and cruel than even *Granvall*, was to ſupply his Place, he foreſaw that the King meant to proceed violently with the Lords, that oppos'd his Tyranny, and deſir'd to be excus'd his Service, to lay down his Commiſſion as Governor of *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Utretcht*, and *Burgundy*. The Dutcheſs advis'd him to continue in his Governments, knowing thoſe Provinces would admit of no other Governor, ſhe propos'd to him to Baniſh his Brother Count *Lodowick* of *Naſſau*, who was ſuſpected to give him fatal Councels, and to take a new Oath of Allegiance to exterminate Hereticks, among whom, his Wife, a *Lutheran*, muſt have been included. Himſelf did not appear publickly at the Proteſtant Worſhip as yet. He anſwer'd, that having already Sworn to be faithful to the King, 'twoud be needleſs to do it again; and to preſs it a ſecond time, look'd as if he had broken the former Oath. The Dutcheſs haſten'd the Setting up of the Inquiſition, and Creation of the new Biſhops, on which 400 Gentlemen, *Lewis* of *Naſſau* at their head, accompany'd by others of the Nobility, preſented a Petition to her, not to impoſe Inquiſitors on them, nor the new Biſhops, nor to publiſh the Decrees of the

the Councel of *Trent*. Thoſe who preſented the Petition were call'd *Gueux*, Beggars, for the plainneſs of their Dreſs. The Count *de Barlemont*, one of the *Spaniſh* Faction gave them this name as a mark of Ignominy. The Dutcheſs ſlighting their Petition, the *Gueux* reſolv'd on a Meeting of the chiefs of their Party to conſult of their defence. The Prince of *Orange* wrote to the Counts, *Egmont*, *Horn*, *Hæſtradt* and *Lewis* of *Naſſau* to meet him at *Reuremonde*, where 'twas propos'd to take Arms, and deliver themſelves, and the Provinces from the Oppreſſion threaten'd them, by ſending the Duke of *Alva* to ſucceed the Dutcheſs of *Parma* in the Government of the *Netherlands*. The Prince prov'd plainly by the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador's Letters written from *Paris*, which he had intercepted, that there was a deſign on foot to deſtroy them. Count *Egmont* advis'd 'em not to revolt, but to throw themſelves on the King's Clemency, which he repeated at another meeting at *Villebroke*. The Prince of *Orange* anſwer'd, *The King's Mercy on which you depend, will one time or other be your Ruin. You will be made a Bridge for the* Spaniards *to paſs over into the* Netherlands, *and when they have done their Buſineſs by it, they'll break it to Pieces.* Having ſaid this, and finding the Count ſtill Obſtinate not to Arm; he embrac'd him, wept, and took his leave of him

him. Declaring Propheticaly, *They shou'd never meet more.*

Soon after he retir'd to *Breda* with his Wife, and all his Children, except his Eldest Son *Philip*, who was at the University of *Louvain*. At *Breda* he was attended by a croud of Lords and Gentlemen, and having concerted measures with them, he retir'd to his Castle of *Dillemburgh*, the ancient Seat of the Princes of *Nassau*.

In the Year 1568. *Alva* enter'd the *Low-Countries* with an Army of Veteran *Spaniards* and *Italians*, to take on him the Government. He was the first Governor that was not of the Blood of the Sovereign of those Provinces, and scarce warm in his Government before he began those Cruelties, which will make his name Infamous to all Ages. Great Numbers of Noblemen, Gentlemen and Merchants fled from his Fury and the Inquisitions; some retir'd to *Germany*, others transported themselves to *England*. The Persons of Quality were well receiv'd by Queen *Elizabeth*, the Tradesmen settled at *Norwich*, *Colchester*, *Sandwich*, *Maidstone* and *Southampton*, where they set up the Manufacture of Bays, Says, and other Stuffs, which is to this Day of vast Advantage to our Nation. This gainful Trade was lost by the Duke of *Alva*'s Tyranny, who acted as if he resolv'd, that his Master shou'd lose the Sovereignty

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of the richeſt Part of the Provinces. The Counts *de Egmont* and *Horn* were beheaded in the Market place of *Bruſſels*, the 2d of *June*. *Alva* ſaid merrily before he came to *Flanders*, that *he intended to fiſh for Salmon, and leave the Trouts and Gudgeons to others.* The Prince of *Orange* was then ſafe at *Dillemburgh*, the *Gueux* rejoic'd that their chief had eſcap'd, and Cardinal *Granval* when he heard of it, ſaid, *The Duke's fiſhing wou'd be worth nothing, if he did not catch the Prince of* Orange. *Alva* erected a Council of Twelve, call'd the *Council of Blood*, made up of Lords of the *Spaniſh* Faction, who ſummon'd the Prince of *Orange*, Count *Hæſtradt*, and Count *Culemburgh*, who were fled, to appear before them, and clear themſelves of thoſe Crimes which were laid to their Charge. This Tribunal was Illegal, and the Governor affected to Rule as Arbitrarily, as his Maſter did in *Spain*. He took away all Authority from the Ordinary Provincial Councels, erected new Courts, condemn'd 18 Lords, by ſuch as were not their Judges, plac'd Garriſons of *Spaniards* in the chief Towns and Cities, built Citadels to Curb the Inhabitants, and by force rais'd Prodigious Taxes without conſent of the States, which was Eſſential in all ſuch Caſes. He prohibited their Seſſion, and quite over-turn'd their Conſtitution. The Prince refus'd to appear before the Council

of

of Blood, appeal'd to the States of *Brabant*, his legal Judges, and desir'd the Protection of the Emperor *Ferdinand*, who granted his request, approv'd of his Conduct, and blam'd the Duke of *Alva*'s unwarrantable Proceedings.

At the time limited for the Prince to appear, he was declar'd guilty of High Treason, his Estate was confiscated, a Garrison put into his Town of *Breda*, and his Son *Philip* taken by violence out of *Louvain*, and sent into *Spain*, where he was bred a Papist. Thus was the Prince driven to repel Violence by Violence, and begin a War, which ended in the shame and ruin of the *Spanish* Monarchy.

He rais'd an Army in *Germany*, which enter'd *Friseland*, under the command of his two Brothers, *Adolphus* and *Lewis* of *Nassau*, who took *Dam* in the Province of *Groningen*, and other Cities, defeated Count *Arembergh* near *Dulart*, cut of most of the *Spanish* Army, and kill'd their General, but they were over-power'd afterwards by the Duke of *Alva*, who surpriz'd them, while the *German* Auxiliaries were in Mutiny for their pay, kill'd 6000 of them, and dispers't their Army, the two Brothers escap'd, and got aboard a Bark in the *Rhine*. The Prince of *Orange* rais'd another Army of 24000 *Germans*, who were join'd by 4000 *French*, commanded by the Seigneur *de Genlis*, with

which he march'd towards the *Netherlands*. Before he enter'd thoſe Provinces, he publiſh'd a Manifeſto, ſhewing the Cauſe of taking up Arms, for his Countries defence and his own. He accus'd *Alva*, and the bloody Council, as Authors of the Troubles. He then paſt the *Rhine*, and the *Meuſe*, which he did by the ſame Stratagem, that *Cæſar* made uſe of, when he croſt the *Segre* near *Lerida* in *Catalonia*, he ty'd his Horſes one to another, and thus paſt the River altogether, to break its Rapidity by their joint Force. His Foot forded over in the Night ſilently, yet with ſo much diligence, that when Count *Barlemont* told the Duke of *Alva* the Enemy had paſt the *Meuſe*, he ask'd him, *If he took 'em for an Army of Birds.* The Prince of *Orange* being enter'd into *Brabant*, offer'd the *Spaniards* Battel, which the Duke of *Alva* refus'd, he kept cloſe in his Camp, and the Prince made ſeveral Motions with his Army, as well to draw him out of it, as to try whether the Cities of *Brabant* wou'd open their Gates to him as he expected; they were not yet wiſe enough to take hold of this Opportunity to preſerve their Liberties. The Prince's diſappointment, and the ſtreightneſs of the Country, which cou'd not ſupply the Proteſtant Army with Proviſions, oblig'd him to disband them.

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The *Germans* again mutining for pay, that Nation like the *Swiſs*, prefering the worſt Money to the beſt Cauſe in the World. He ſold his Plate, his Artillery and Baggage to pay his Soldiers, and Mortgag'd his Principality of *Orange*, and other Lands, for the Officers ſecurity. However, before his Army diſperſt, he routed 18 Companies of Foot, and 300 Horſe between *Queſnoi* and *Cambray*, took the chief Officers Priſoners, and *Alva*'s Son, *Don Henrigo*, was kill'd in the Engagement.

The Prince, and his Brothers, Count *Lewis*, and Count *Henry*, march'd with 1200 Horſe to join the Duke of *Deux Ponts*, who was then about to enter *France* with 14000 Men to aſſiſt the *Hugonots*. He was at the taking *la Charitè*, at the Battel of *Roche la Beille*, and at the Siege of *Poictiers*, which was fatal to the Proteſtants. From thence he made his Eſcape in diſguiſe to *Montbelliard*, and thence to his Caſtle of *Naſſau*.

While he was in *France*, Admiral *Coligny* gave him that advice, which was the Foundation of the Republick of the United Provinces. He told him, that ſince he cou'd not reaſonably hope to carry on the War by Land, he ſhou'd grant Commiſſions to the *Flemiſh* Fugitives to begin it at Sea, ſhewing him how eaſie 'twoud be to

ſet foot in *Holland* and *Zealand*, and how difficult to diſpoſſeſs thoſe that ſhou'd ſettle there, if they cou'd be formidable at Sea.

In the Year 1572. Queen *Elizabeth*, on the complaint of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador at *London*, that the *Flemiſh* Rebels furniſh'd themſelves in *England* with Arms and Ammunition, and were harbour'd in her Sea Port Towns, commanded the *Netherlanders* by Proclamation to depart the Kingdom, and ſtop'd their Ships, if the Owners were ſuſpected to be concern'd in the Revolt, whether ſhe privately aſſiſted them to make a deſcent on *Holland* and *Zealand*, or whether ſhe was really afraid of the *Spaniard*, and did it to pleaſe him, it prov'd very much to his Damage, for from theſe poor Beginnings the States General roſe to be *High* and *Mighty*. *William Vander Mark*, Lord of *Luna*, and other *Netherlanders* left *England*, join'd with thoſe Privateers to whom the Prince of *Orange* had given Commiſſion to act againſt the *Spaniards*, and ſeiz'd the *Brill* at the Mouth of the *Maeſe*, perſwaded *Fluſhing*, where they hung up *Don Pacheco*, a Relation of *Alva*'s, and ſeveral other Towns to revolt, and in a ſhort time, almoſt excluded the Duke of *Alva* from the Command of the Sea. The Duke ſtill continu'd his Perſecution at *Bruſſels*, and

and the People of the Seventeen Provinces bore with him, till he grew ſo exorbitant in his Taxes, that they cou'd hold out no longer. On the publiſhing an Edict, for laying ſome new Impoſition, the Citizens of *Bruſſels* ſhut up their Shops, even in his preſence, and many other Cities, who wou'd not receive the Prince of *Orange*, when he enter'd *Brabant* the firſt Time to aſſiſt them, invited him to come to deliver them from their Tirannical Governor. *Holland* and *Zealand* declar'd for him, and hearing *Brabant* and *Flanders* were diſpos'd to Revolt, he made haſt with his Levies in *Germany*, to encourage the other Provinces, who inclin'd to throw of the *Spaniſh* Yoke. All the Maritime Provinces turn'd out their *Spaniſh* Garriſons, *Zutphen*, *Overiſſel*, *Gueldre* and *Friſeland*, join'd with *Holland* and *Zealand*, and Count *Lewis* of *Naſſau* ſurpriz'd *Mons*, the Capital of *Hainault*. The Duke of *Alva* was alarm'd at the loſs of that City, and ſwore he wou'd recover it, whatever it coſt him, and the time he ſpent before *Mons*, gave the *Hollanders* an opportunity to fortifie their Towns, to lay up Stores of Proviſions and Ammunition, and to procure Aſſiſtance from other Nations. *Thomas Morgan* carry'd over 300 *Engliſhmen* to *Fluſhing*, and Sir *Humphry Gilbert* nine Companies of Foot. The *French* Proteſtants came to their Aſſiſt-

Aſſiſtance, and in a little while they began to think of ſetting up for themſelves.

The Prince of *Orange* having information of the Poſture of their Affairs, form'd the deſign of Founding his new Commonwealth, he paſt the *Rhine*, and the *Meuſe* with 11000 Foot, and 6000 Horſe enter'd *Brabant* once more, and appear'd before *Louvain*, which City paid him 16000 Crowns Contribution. *Mecklin*, and ſeveral other Towns open'd their Gates to him. From *Brabant* he proceeded to *Hainault*, march'd up to the Duke of *Alva*'s Lines, but found his Camp ſo well fortify'd, and the paſſes to *Mons* ſecur'd, that 'twas impoſſible for him to force him, or throw Succours into the place. While he was contriving how to draw the *Spaniards* out of his Intrenchments, News came of the Maſſacre of *Paris*, in which he loſt his beſt Friend, Admiral *Coligny*, he knew there was no more help to be hop'd for from *France*, and finding it was in vain to think of drawing *Alva*, a wary General, out of his Lines, and fearing the *French* Auxiliaries, diſpirited with the murder of the Chiefs of the Proteſtant Party wou'd deſert, he ſent to his Brother Count *Lewis* to make the beſt Terms he cou'd, and deliver up the Town. Himſelf retreated towards the *Rhine*, and in his Retreat ran great risk of being kill'd or taken; for 200 *Spaniſh*, and 800 Horſe, reſo-

reſolute Fellows, enter'd his Camp in the Night, kill'd the Guard, and made their Way up to his Tent, where he was faſt aſleep. But a little Dog that always lay on his Bed wak'd him, who hearing a Noiſe, rous'd and ran to his Soldiers, whom he found flying to warn him of his danger; he rally'd his Men, and led them to the Combat. And this alarming the whole Camp, the *Spaniards* were beſet on all ſides, and cut off every Man. At *Orſoy*, in the Dutchy of *Cleves* he disbanded his Army, croſt *Overiſſel*, retir'd to *Utrecht*, and viſited the Provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand*, where he was impatiently expected.

The States at a Meeting held at *Dort*, choſe him for their Governor, and took an Oath of Fidelity to be true to him at the hazard of their Lives and Fortunes; yet, tho' he was in Poſſeſſion of the Supream Authority, he acted in all Things in the name of the States, who entirely confided in him. He put what Garriſons he pleas'd in the places within their Power; he rais'd Armies, fitted out Squadrons of Men of War, had the diſpoſal of the publick Money, and allow'd Penſions to their Clergy. In four Months he equip'd a Fleet of 50 Sail at *Fluſhing*, and the Courage and Experience of his Men were bleſt with the Succeſs they deſerv'd, for in 10 Years time they met with no Check at Sea from their Ene-

mies. He order'd that, whereas only *Dort*, *Harlem*, *Leyden*, *Delft*, *Amſterdam* and *Goude*, had formerly Voices in the Aſſembly of the States, *Rotterdam*, *Gorcum*, *Mulukedam*, *Medomblick*, *Pomerend*, *Skiedam*, *Shonove*, *Briel*, *Alkamaer*, *Horn*, *Enchuyſen* and *Edam*, ſhou'd have the ſame Privilege, and theſe Cities owing that Honour to him, had the greater Affection for him. This was the firſt Alteration he made in their Conſtitution. He then aboliſh'd the Popiſh Idolatry, and ſettled the Reformation; as well to render the Breach with the *Spaniards* irreconcileable, as to introduce Purity of Worſhip.

The Duke of *Alva* after the ſurrender of *Mons*, order'd his Son, *Don Frederic de Toledo*, to reduce the Towns that were revolted in *Gueldre* and *Holland*. In his way he took *Mecklin*, and Maſſacred the Townſmen in Revenge for their receiving the Prince of *Orange*. He defeated the Marquiſs of *Berghen*, maſter'd *Zutphen*, *Naerden* and *Harlem*, where he committed ſuch abominiable Barbarities, that the other Garriſons fought like Men deſperate, and reſolv'd to die on the Breach, rather than fall into the Hands of ſuch a Monſter, who imitating his Bloody Father, rather ruin'd the *Spaniſh* Affairs, than advanc'd them by his Butcheries. *Alkamaer* tir'd him out with her brave Defence, and the Prince of *Orange*

to cover *Dort*, attack'd and took *Gertrudenburgh.*

In the Year 1573. *Mondragon* after he had expended ſeven Millions, and loſt many Thouſand Mens Lives in the defence of *Middleburgh*, deliver'd it up to the Prince, which made amends for the loſs of *Harlem.* The *Dutch* burnt and deſtroy'd the *Spaniſh* Fleet, and kill'd the Admiral, who came to relieve *Middleburgh.* The deteſtable Cruelties of the Duke of *Alva*, and the general Averſion which all the *Netherlands* had to his Goverment, made *Don Roderigo Gomez de Sylvia*, the King of *Spain*'s Favourite, to repreſent to his Majeſty, how by driving his Subjects in thoſe Provinces to deſpair, the Duke had occaſion'd their Revolt; he was for this Reaſon recall'd, and *Don Requeſens* ſent to ſucceed him, a Man of a milder Spirit: The beginning of whoſe Government was as prejudicial to the *Spaniards* by Sea, as advantagious by Land. The *Dutch* deſtroy'd another Fleet from *Spain*, and *Don Sancho d'Avila* met Count *Lewis* of *Naſſau* near *Nimeguen*, with a fourth Army of *Germans*, who according to their wonted Avarice, ſacrific'd their Lives to their pay, being caught in a Mutiny. The *Spaniards* routed them, kill'd Count *Lewis*, and Count *Henry* of *Naſſau*, *Chriſtopher*, Count *Palatine*, and the greater Part of their

their Army. This Succeſs gave the Enemy ſuch Heart, that they beſieg'd *Leyden*, and reduc'd the Inhabitants to incredible Streights; yet they proteſted, *when their Horſes and Vermine were devour'd, they wou'd eat their Right-hands before they wou'd ſurrender.* The Prince of *Orange* having advice of the Towns diſtreſs, by Pigeons taught to carry Letters, after the manner of the Merchants correſponding in *Aſia*, between *Scanderoon* and *Aleppo*, order'd 200 flat-bottom'd Boats to be provided, each with 12, 14 or 16 Oars, the biggeſt mounted with two Pieces of Cannon. Theſe Boats were mann'd by ſome Mariners from *Zealand*, and loaden with all ſorts of Proviſions When they were ready, the *Dutch* made great Channels through the *Cauſways*, overturn'd the Banks that were rais'd to keep out the Sea, and the Waters of the *Maeſe*, and the *Iſſel*, drown'd the Country, which the *Spaniards* occupy'd and convey'd their Supplies into the City. The *Spaniards* ſeeing the Town thus provided, nail'd down their Cannon, demoliſh'd their Works, and rais'd the Siege after they had been four Months before the Town. The *Dutch* perſu'd them, and fir'd at 'em from their Boats, kill'd a vaſt Number, and took as many Priſoners. The Prince enter'd the City in Triumph, and was receiv'd with in-

inexpreſſible Joy. To reward the Citizens for their Suffering in ſo long a Siege, he founded an Univerſity there with large Privileges and Revenues: *Requeſens* attack'd, and made himſelf Maſter of *Zuriczee*, and perceiving the main Strength of the *Hollanders* lay in their Sea Ports, and Shiping, he bent himſelf wholly to recover the Maritime Towns. He ſent an Envoy to Queen *Elizabeth* in the Year 1575. to deſire her conſent, that the *Engliſh* Fugitives in *Flanders* might ſerve againſt the *Dutch*. She wou'd not permit that, however in return of his baniſhing the Earl of *Weſtmoreland*, and other *Engliſh* Rebels out of the *Netherlands*, She forbad the *Flemings* the uſe of her Ports, if they were in Arms againſt the King of *Spain*, and order'd, that neither the Prince of *Orange*'s Ships, nor thoſe of any of his Houſe, nor of the Lords of *Culemburgh Berg*, *Vander Mark*, and 50 more, whom ſhe nam'd ſhou'd be admitted into the *Havens* of *England*.

The Prince of *Orange* finding himſelf too weak to withſtand the force of the *Spaniard*, and perceiving he had nothing to expect from *England* to ſupport him, conſulted with his Friends, to whom they ſhou'd fly for Protection. He thought firſt of the *French* King, and the Queen of *England*, not

not liking that the Provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand* ſhou'd be annex'd to the Crown of *France*, a powerful Enemy of that of *England*, ſhe ſent *Daniel Rogers* to perſwade the Prince, not to enter into a Treaty with a King, ſo bigotted to Popery. *Rogers*'s Reaſons were not ſtrong enough to convince the Prince, that he ought not to chuſe the *French* King for his Protector, as Admiral *Coligny* had advis'd him to do. Then the Queen diſpatch'd Mr. *Cobham* to King *Philip*, to repreſent to him the danger of thoſe two Provinces ſubmitting to the *French*, and by her Envoy at *Bruſſels*, ſhe demonſtrated the ſame to *Requeſens*, who ſeem'd to approve of her Advice, and incline to Peace. The Death of this Governor put an end to ſuch mild Councels. The *German* and *Spaniſh* Soldiers employ'd againſt the *Dutch*, grew inſolent upon it, and rudely demanded their pay, which not coming in as faſt as they deſir'd, they abandon'd *Schelde* and *Doveland*, and ran up and down the Province of *Brabant*, not knowing where to begin their Spoil, at laſt they fell on *Maeſtricht* and *Antwerp*, and plunder'd and deſtroy'd in the latter to the Value of 24 Millions of Livres. Theſe diſorders committed by the Forreign Mercenaries, provok'd the *Flemings*, who were not in the Prince's Intereſt, to declare for him

him, and the States, proclaim'd the *Spaniards* Enemies to King and Country, and reſolv'd to call in the Prince of *Orange* to their Aſſiſtance.

In the Year 1576. the States of all the Provinces met, and agreed on the Famous League, call'd, the *Pacification of* Gaut. They took an Oath to ſtand by each other, to deliver the *Netherlands* from *Spaniſh* Slavery. *Gant*, *Valenciennes*, *Cambray*, *Utrecht* and *Groninghen*, demoliſh'd the Cittadels the *Spaniards* had built to curb 'em; and only *Luxemburgh* of the Seventeen Provinces continu'd in her Obedience to the Catholick King. The States ſent *Obigny* to Queen *Elizabeth*, to deſire Aſſiſtance from her of Men and Money, which the Queen, hearing they had before apply'd to the *French* King, deny'd. *Don John*, who ſucceeded *Requeſens* in the Government, behav'd himſelf gently at his firſt coming, and many of the States Party were debauch'd by his Flattery and Careſſes. The Prince of *Orange* gave them a Caution to beware of *Spaniſh* Treachery, aſſuring them, that an Arbitrary Monarch once offended, tho' he may for a time Diſſemble, and hide his Reſentment; yet he never forgets Injuries done to his *Authority Royal*. Queen *Elizabeth* at the Solicitation of *Swevingham*, a ſecond Agent, from the States, remitted them 20000 Pounds Sterling on Condition, they wou'd

wou'd not refuſe Peace, if it cou'd be procur'd on honourable Conditions. This Princeſs, the Emperor *Rhodolphus*, and the Duke of *Cleves* mediated the Matter with *Don John*, who conſented to the *Perpetual Edict* ſet forth the 17th of *February* 1567. By this Treaty the Aſſembly of the States at *Gant* was confirm'd. The *Spaniards* and *Germans* were driven out of the *Low Countries*, but little care was taken about ſatisfying, and ſecuring the Proteſtants; for which reaſon the Prince of *Orange*, and the States of *Holland* and *Zealand* proteſted againſt the Edict, and *Don John* did not think they cou'd do him much Miſchief, unleſs the other Provinces join'd with them, of which he was not apprehenſive; the *Walloons* and *Flemings* being generally Bigots in Religion, and moſt of 'em Papiſts. However they were once tenacious of their Civil Liberties.

Sir *Thomas Leighton*, Envoy from the Queen of *England* to the Prince of *Orange*, and the States of *Holland* endeavour'd to keep them quiet, till ſhe heard from her Ambaſſador in *Spain*, what the Catholick King wou'd do for the ſecurity of Religion, and ſhe inſtanc'd *Don John*'s granting the *Perpetual Edict*, as a Compliance with which they ought to be ſatisfy'd. The Prince of *Orange* in the mean time happily diſcover'd a Plot *Don John* was carrying on,

to free the *Scot*'s Queen, then in Priſon in *England*, and afterwards to marry her. The Prince inform'd Queen *Elizabeth* of it, to divert her from the Thoughts of Peace, ſince 'twas concluded with a deſign to invade her Kingdom, and diſpoſſeſs her of her Crown, which weigh'd much with her, and ſhe enter'd into a League Offenſive and Defenſive, with the States of *Holland*, lent them 100000 pounds, and ſent them Supplies of Men and Ammunition. Before a Year was expir'd, *Don John* ſhew'd the *Flemings*, how he intended to obſerve the Edict, he ſeiz'd the Caſtles of *Namur* and *Charlemont*, recall'd the *Spaniſh* and *German* Troops, and prepar'd for War. The States of the *Netherlands* did the ſame, and invited the Prince of *Orange* to come to *Antwerp* with his Princeſs *Charlotte de Bourbon*, his third Wife, to comfort and confirm them. The Burghers met him ſeveral Miles out of the City, and the States General deputed the Abbots *Villars* and *Maroles* to wait upon him at *Antwerp*, and pray him to remove to *Bruſſels*. He went thither in a Barge, the Burghers of *Antwerp* marching on one ſide of the Canal, and thoſe of *Bruſſels* on the other. He was receiv'd into that City with loud Acclamations of Joy, and declar'd Governor of *Brabant*, and Superintendant of the *Finances*.

This

This was one of the happieſt days of his Life, and he cou'd not without extream delight, behold how the People lov'd him, almoſt to Adoration, which thro' Jealouſy created him many Enemies, among ſome Perſons, who hated his Religion, or envy'd his Power. The Duke of *Arſcot*, the Marquiſs of *Havre*, the Count *de Lalain*, and his Brother, the Baron *de Montigny*, the Vicount *de Gant*, Count *Egmont*, and others of the Nobles privately invited the Arch Duke *Matthias* to come into the *Netherlands*, and they wou'd chuſe him to be their Governor. They manag'd the Buſineſs ſo diligently and ſecretly, that tho' the Prince of *Orange* had as good Intelligence as any Prince of thoſe Times, yet he heard nothing of it, till the Arch Duke was at *Cologne*. The Lords, who call'd him in, hop'd to rule under him, but *Matthias* diſappointed them. The Prince modeſtly complain'd of it in an Aſſembly of the States, ſaying, 'twas a breach of the Agreement made between them, to do nothing without communicating it. He knew the ill Conſequences of Diviſions among Parties too well, to incourage them, when a formidable and cruel Enemy watch'd carefully to turn them to his Advantage. He did not in the leaſt oppoſe *Matthias*'s Election, but manag'd himſelf ſo well in the Aſſembly, that he was by a great Majority of Voices choſen

choſen the Arch Duke Lieutenant General, and the Management of the War was almoſt wholly left to him. The Duke of *Arſcot* for ſome ill deſigns againſt the Government was Arreſted, as alſo the Biſhops of *Ypres* and *Bruges*, and others of his Creatures. *Don John* was not idle, while the States were buſy in providing to ſupport their new Governor, he ſurpris'd and defeated the States Army commanded by Monſieur *de Goigneè* near *Gemblours*. Count *Lalain*, the General, and the principal Officers, being then at *Bruſſels* feaſting at the Wedding of one of the Chiefs of their Party. This loſs was retriev'd by the taking of *Amſterdam* eight days after, which City was united to the States of *Holland*, and is now Capital of the Province.

The ſame Year 1578 *Don John* fluſh'd with his late Victory at *Gemblours*, attack'd the Statiſts near *Rimeneau*, but was forc'd to retire in great Confuſion, and with conſiderable loſs. The Count *de Boſſu*, who commanded the Army of the States, was blam'd for not purſuing him, which had he done, he wou'd certainly have cut of moſt of the *Spaniſh* Army.

The States General of the *Low Countries* publiſh'd an Order for Liberty of Conſcience, which diſguſted ſome violent Papiſts, as the Baron *de Montigny*, Viſcount *de Gant*, *Pardieu*, and others who form'd a third

Faction call'd *Malecontents*, and being too fond of the *Spaniards* for the ſake of their Religion, were the cauſe of the loſs of the Provinces of *Hainault* and *Artois*, which return'd to the Obedience of King *Philip*. A Treaty was ſet on foot with *Don John* by the interceſſion of the *Imperial* and *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors which came to nothing: That Prince would by no means admit of the *Reform'd Religion*, and the Pr. of *Orange* wou'd not leave *Bruſſels*, unleſs he comply'd with a Tolleration. *Don John* did not long ſurvive the Treaty. The Prince of *Parma*, his Nephew, ſucceeded him in his Government as we have related in the Lives of thoſe Princes.

By his mild Carriage he increas'd the number of the *Malecontents*, and leſſen'd the Party of the States. He had not been many Weeks in the Exerciſe of his power, before the Prince of *Orange* laid the firſt Stone of the Foundation of the Republick of the United Provinces, and ſettl'd its Conſtitution, as at this Day.

The 25th *Jan.* 1578. the Union of the Provinces of *Guelder*, *Zutphen*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Friſeland* and *Omelands* was decreed at *Utrecht*, and conſiſted of 29 Articles. The Chief was mutually to aſſiſt one another againſt the Common Enemy, and never to treat of War or Peace without the general Conſent of all. Each Province

vince reſerving the Rights and Privileges belonging to it. This Alliance was call'd the Treaty of *Utrecht*, and the States took for their Device theſe Words: *Concordiâ Parvæ Res Creſcunt.*

The Prince of *Orange* prevail'd with the Queen of *England* to hire *Caſimir* Prince *Palatine* to enter the *Low Countries* with an Army to aſſiſt the States. *Caſimir* did nothing conſiderable, and after he had waſted his Time there, he went to *England*, and at his return to *Flanders*, found his Army disbanded, having been bought off by the Prince of *Parma*. The Prince of *Orange* was juſtly diſcontented with his Negligence, and wou'd not take leave of him when he went back to *Germany*. The Vigilance and Valour of *Farneſe* was too much for the divided Faction of the Arch-Duke *Matthias* to cope with, which the Prince of *Orange* conſidering, thought 'twas time to look out for ſome more powerful Protector, and that the Duke of *Alencon*, the *French* King's Brother, wou'd be a proper Prince to reign over the *Netherlands*. He propos'd it to the States, who approv'd of the Propoſition, and diſpatch'd *Philip de Marnix* to conclude a Treaty with *Alencon*, by which 'twas Agreed, that the States of *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Brabant*, *Flanders*, *Utrecht* and *Friſeland*, ſhou'd Acknowledge him for their Sovereign, provided he neither Chang'd their Religion, nor alter'd

the Conſtituion of their Government. And if he broke any of the Articles which were the Original Contract between him, and his new Subjects, he ſhou'd be Depos'd, and they Abſolv'd from their Oaths of Allegiance. The Arch-Duke ſeeing the States had no more Buſineſs for him in the *Low Countries* return'd Home quietly, and contented himſelf with their Thanks for what he had done. The Duke of *Alençon* was forc'd to Abdicate his Government, as well as *Matthias*, but he did it with Violence, Shame and Confuſion.

When King *Philip* heard of the Negotiation with the Duke, he was afraid the *French* wou'd aſſiſt his Brother, and in revenge publiſh'd a Bloody Proſcription againſt the Prince of *Orange* in 1580. Upbraiding him with the Favours beſtow'd on him by *Charles* the Vth. calling him *Rebel Ingrate, diſturber of the publick Peace, Heretick, Hypocrite, a ſecond* Judas, *having neither Conſcience nor Honour, Impious, Sacrilegious, Perjur'd, and the Plague of Mankind.* But his Satyr, tho' 'twas bitter, and mean enough to be pen'd by the Clerk of the Markets, was as impotent as his Arms, till he promis'd a Reward of 25000 Crowns to any one, that ſhou'd bring him into *Spain* alive or dead, to pardon all his Crimes, and to Enoble him, if he was not Noble before. He declar'd the

Prince

Prince a Traitor, and gave his Eſtate, Liberty and Life to the Man that cou'd ſeize his Perſon. The Prince anſwer'd his Scandalous Libel with a Manifeſto, containing his Apology and Defence; his Anſwer was read at a Meeting of the States, and they Voted the King's Declaration againſt him to be falſe; vindicating what he did by their Authority, and that it was by their Importunity he accepted of the Government. They rais'd a Company of Guards for the Security of his Perſon; they pray'd him to continue to maintain their Liberty, and promis'd to obey him in all Things and to follow his Advice, on which they ſaw the Safety and Welfare of the Provinces depended. Their Declaration extremely mortify'd King *Philip*, and the Conqueſt of *Breda* next Year happen'd very opportunely to comfort him. *Farneſe* had taken that Town, the Prince of *Orange*'s Lordſhip, and beſieg'd *Cambray*, before the Duke of *Alencon* cou'd get his Troops together, he march'd with 14000 Horſe and Foot to relieve the Place, on whoſe approach *Farneſe* rais'd the Siege, and the Duke of *Alencon*, now Duke of *Anjou*, went over to *England* to Court Queen *Elizabeth*; tho' he was not Fortunate in his Amour, yet he got Money of her to carry on his Expedition in the *Netherlands*. He return'd to the *Low-Countries* in *February*, and was receiv'd by the Prince of *Orange* with a

great deal of Pomp at *Middleburgh*, from thence the Prince conducted him to *Antwerp*, where he was proclaim'd Duke of *Brabant* the 25th of *February* 158½. The Prince preſented him with the Ducal Crown, and all the Regalia of the Provinces, with which he was ſolemnly inveſted.

The publick Joy on this occaſion was diſturb'd, by the Bloody Attempt of one *Javregny*, a *Spaniard*, to Aſſaſſinate the Prince of *Orange*. The Fellow was perſwaded by his Confeſſor to undertake the Murder; he waited not long before an opportunity preſented, the Feſtivals on the Duke's acceſſion to the Sovereignty, making the Prince more ſecure and eaſier of Acceſs than at other Times. *Javregny* was admitted into the Hall of his Palace to ſee him at Dinner, and heard him talk of the cruelty of the *Spaniards* in the *Netherlands*. After Dinner he remov'd into an Antichamber, accompany'd by ſeveral *French* and *Flemiſh* Lords, to ſhow them ſome Tapiſtry Hangings, where the *Spaniards* were drawn Executing their Barbarities. The Villain in the moment that he pointed to the Picture, fir'd a Piſtol at him, the Bullet pierc'd him under the Right-Ear, and came out at his Left-Check, breaking his Jaw, and his Teeth. The Lords that were about him drew their Swords, and cut the Aſſaſſine to pieces. The Prince did not preſently feel him-

himſelf wounded, and when he did, he cry'd out, that the *Spaniard* ſhou'd not be kill'd, but he ſpoke too late; his Pockets were ſearch'd, and Papers found in 'em, which diſcover'd what Countryman he was, and happily for the *French* was it found out, that he was a *Spaniard*. The Citizens of *Antwerp* being in Arms to revenge themſelves on the Duke of *Alencons* Followers, whom they ſuſpected to have committed the Villany, to deliver the Duke from a Partner in his new Dominion; they were quiet, when they were ſatisfy'd that the Ruffian was a Native of *Spain*, and their Rage ſunk into Sorrow for the Danger of their Protector, the Magiſtrates order'd publick Faſts, and the Citizens went daily to Church to pray for his Recovery. When there were hopes that he would do well, their Prayers were turn'd into Praiſes, and their Faſts into Feſtivals. To rejoice in the ſafety of the *Father of his Country*. As ſoon as he was quite cur'd, he went with the Duke of *Alencon*, now Duke of *Anjou*, to *Bruſſels* and *Gant*. At *Bruſſels* another Conſpiracy was detected, and *Nicholas Salcede*, another *Spaniard* chief of it taken, who confeſt that he had receiv'd 4000 Crowns of *Alexander Farneſe*, to Aſſaſſinate the Duke of *Anjou*, and the Prince of *Orange*, *Francis Baza* an *Italian*, one of the Conſpi-

rators own'd as much. The latter kill'd himſelf, before he came to the Place of Execution, the former was torn to Pieces by four Horſes.

The Duke of *Anjou* did not like to ſee the States pay ſuch deference to the Prince. Monſieur *Tavargues*, St. *Aignan*, and *Rochpot*, his Creatures, young unexperienc'd and proud, gave him fatal Councels, and he was govern'd by them, neglecting the Prudent and Politick Advice of the Prince of *Orange*, the Duke *de Montpenſier*, and the Count *de Laval*.

His young Favourites perſwaded him againſt the Oath he had taken, againſt Reaſon and Honour in one Day to ſeize *Dunkirk*, *Dendermonde*, *Bruges*, *Antwerp*, and the principal Cities of the *Low-Countries*, to erect a Sovereignty independant of the States and the Prince of *Orange*, and if he cou'd not keep the Cities, to plunder and abandon them. The Duke of *Anjou* to colour his unlawful Violence, with a ſhow of Juſtice, pretended the People of *Antwerp* had form'd Deſigns againſt his Perſon, had beſet his Palace to kill him, and that Conſequently he was diſcharg'd from his Oath. He ſeiz'd *Dendermonde*, *Dunkirk*, and two or three other Cities, but at *Bruges* he was diſappointed, and at *Antwerp*, the *French* who roſe on the Inhabitants were kill'd,

and

and thrown over the Walls to the Duke of *Anjou*, who was at the Gates expecting Admittance. The Burghers made themſelves Maſters of the Gates, and kept the *French* out, while they dealt thus by their Treacherous Gueſts within. Upon which *Anjou* having ſpent prodigious Sums of Queen *Elizabeth*'s, of his Brother, the *French* King's, of the States, and of his own Money, ingloriouſly return'd to *France* the firſt Year of his ſhort Reign in the *Netherlands*. For 'tis Notorious, that whereever a *French* Prince ſhall acquire a Dominion over a Free People, he will ſoon render himſelf Odious by his Arbitrary Principles, and bring himſelf, and his Subjects to Ruin. *Anjou* dy'd in his own Country of Grief and Deſpair, for his Diſgrace in *Flanders*.

The *Flemings* believ'd the Prince of *Orange* was privy to the Duke of *Anjou*'s Treaſon; his Enemies gave out that he put the Duke upon it, to throw of his dependance on the State, and make himſelf abſolute Maſter of the *Netherlands*, knowing he cou'd eaſily drive out the *French* when they had done his Buſineſs, which Scandal was too much incourag'd by the *Walloons*, and the Prince found he ſhou'd not long be ſafe among 'em; the States Party declining daily, every one having the *French* Treachery in Abhorrence. About this time the Prince

of

of *Orange* marry'd his fourth Wife, *Loviſe de Coligny*, Admiral *Coligny*'s Daughter, a Lady of eminent Virtue; but having demean'd her ſelf in her firſt Match with Monſieur *de Teligny*, the Prince was condemn'd of weakneſs in marrying a private Gentleman's Widow. This cenſure as 'twas not reaſonable, was not laſting; however it helpt to give him a diſguſt at the *Walloons*, who rail'd moſt at his Marriage; their Superſtition, and the Attempts made among them to murder him, were good Reaſons for his leaving *Antwerp*, and retiring to *Holland*, where he thought he ſhou'd be ſafe.

He choſe the City of *Delft* for the place of his Reſidence, and there his Princeſs was deliver'd of a Son, *Henry Frederick*, Grandfather to *William* the IIId. King of *England*. In this City he liv'd above a Year, after the Duke of *Anjou*'s Flight, and was Aſſaſſinated there the 10th of *July* 1584. After he had built the Republick of *Holland* on a ſolid Baſis, and laid the Foundation ſo firm, that neither *Spain* nor *France* have been able to overturn it. And at this Day ſhe is fortunately at War with *France* and *Spain* United.

William the Firſt Prince of *Orange*, Founder of the Commonwealth of the United Provinces, was thus Barbarouſly Murder'd by *Balthaſar Gerard*, a *Burgundian*, who contriv'd his damnable Deſign in this manner.

The

The Prince five or six Years before his Death, form'd a Design on *Besancon*, of which City he was Hereditary Mayor, and Lord of several other Towns in the *Franche Comte* and *Burgundy*; he intrusted one *Briet* with the Management of his Affairs in *Besancon*, and the *French* County. Cardinal *de la Beaume* prevented the surprize of that City, by dispersing the Conspirators at their first Rising, *Briet*, and 80 more of them were Hang'd, and eight Days after his Execution, this *Gerard*, a Native of *Nogarot* in that Province, dress't himself like one of the *Gueux*, and travell'd to *Flanders*, pretending to be *Briet*'s Son. He told his Story to the Prince's Secretary, who presented him to his Master, and the Prince for *Briet*'s sake, order'd the Secretary to have him taught to write, and Equipt like a Gentleman. He learnt the Secretary's Business so well, that in his absence the Prince often made use of him, and on his Death gave him his Place. He serv'd five Years faithfully in his Office, and then tempted by the Reward the King of *Spain* promis'd to the Man that shou'd kill the Prince, he resolv'd to do it. He watch'd for an opportunity, and it presented not long after he thought first of the Murder. The Prince having din'd in publick, retir'd into his Closet, and the Secretary follow'd him with a Bundle of Papers, for him to pe-

Peruſe and Sign, where he ſhot off a Piſtol, and wounded him, and then ſtab'd him three or four times with a Dagger. The Guards, and the reſt of the Houſhold were at Dinner, and the Aſſaſſin came out of the Cloſet unobſerv'd, no body hearing or minding the Noiſe of the Piſtol: The Murderer took Horſe, and eſcap'd to *Dordrecht*, where the Boat which he expected Paſſage in, was juſt put off, and tho' he beckon'd to the Boatmen, they wou'd not make to Shoar, neither had he the Preſence of Mind, or the Courage to Swim the River. The Officers and Guards finding the Prince ſtaid longer than uſual in his Cloſet, lookt through the Key-hole, and ſeeing him lye dead on the Floor, the Captain of his Guards, and a party of Horſe follow'd *Briet*, whom they knew was laſt with him; they overtook him on the Rivers-bank, as ſoon as they ſaw him, they cry'd out to him to *Stop*, and he to them, *Is he dead? Kill me if he is*, but firſt give me *time to ſay my Prayers*. The Captain told him he was to die by other Hands, and accordingly for 18 Days together he underwent the moſt terrible Tortures, and never ſhow'd the leaſt fear of Death, till he was almoſt in the Agony. He excus'd his committing the Crime, by the good he had done in taking off a Prince, who had abus'd all the Courts of *Europe*, and dy'd with known lyes in his

his Mouth, reflecting on his Maſter's Honour.

The Prince was ſucceeded in all his Offices by his ſecond Son, Count *Maurice*, whom he had by *Anne*, Daughter of *Maurice*, Elector of *Saxony*. He had two Sons more, *Philip* his eldeſt, who was bred a Papiſt, and ſo continu'd; for which Reaſon the States of the United Provinces, wou'd never ſuffer him to enter their Dominions, and *Henry*, the youngeſt, who ſucceeded his Brother *Maurice*, and was the only Son, who left any Children behind him to enjoy his Father's Honours and Eſtate.

THE

THE LIFE OF *Alexander Farneſe*, PRINCE of *PARMA*.

PART II.

THE Prince of *Parma* was born Illegitimate by the Father's ſide, and by his Mother's. His Father *Octavius* Duke of *Parma*, being Deſcended from a Baſtard Son of Pope *Paul* the Third, and his Mother *Margaret* of *Auſtria* was the Natural Daughter of *Charles*

Charles the 5th, and *Margaret Vangeſt*, a *Flemiſh* Lady. He was Born in the Year 1542. His Mother *Margaret*, after the Death of the Emperor *Charles* the 5th. was made Governor of the *Netherlands* by her Brother *Philip* the Second King of *Spain*, who kept his Nephew Prince *Alexander* at *Madrid*, and had him bred up in his own Court. The King afterwards committed him to the care of the Count *d'Egmond*, and when he was One and twenty Years of Age marry'd him to *Mary* Princeſs of *Portugal*, by whom he had two Children, *Ranutius* Duke of *Parma*, and Cardinal *Edward*. His firſt diſtinguiſhing Action was at the Battle of *Lepanto*; for tho' from his Youth he diſcover'd a Genius for War, yet either thro' Negligence or Jealouſy, his Unkle King *Philip* never permitted him to ſhow himſelf in Arms till he was Twenty eight Years old. He Commanded a Galley, the Admiral of *Genoa*, at the Battle of *Lepanto*, and fought by the ſide of *Colonna*, the Pope's Admiral. He boarded *Muſtapha*, Treaſurer of the *Ottoman* Fleet, kill'd the Captain, and took his Galley with the *Turks* Treaſure in it. He alſo took *Scander-Baſſa*, and another Galley that came to the relief of *Muſtapha*, and behav'd himſelf ſo well in the Fight, that the Pope, and the Catholick King, took particular Notice of him. His Unkle *Don John* of *Auſtria*, when he was made Governor of the

Nether-

Netherlands, desir'd him to leave *Parma*, whither he had retir'd for want of Action, and out of Love to his Wife, and to come to him in the *Low Countries*, and Assist him in rooting out *Heresy* and *Hereticks*. *Farnese*, the most bigotted Prince of his Age, cou'd have no greater Inducement than this to quit his Country, especially his Wife dying about the same time in the Year 1578.

The King of *Spain*, to increase his Zeal, allow'd him a Pension of 3000 Crowns of Gold a Year. He was at the Battle of *Gemblours*, when *Don John* defeated the Forces of the States of the *Low Countries*; here the Prince of *Parma* Charg'd the Enemy's Horse, who giving Ground, the Foot were soon forc'd to follow their Example. After the Victory Prince *Alexander* march'd with a Detachment from *Don John*'s Army to reduce *Sichem*, took it by Storm, and gave the City to his Soldiers to Plunder. *Diest*, a City in *Brabant*, belonging to the House of *Orange*, open'd her Gates to him, and then he besieg'd *Nivelle*, which Surrender'd at the first Attack. *Don John* finding himself Indispos'd retir'd to *Namur*, and left the Command of the Army with the Prince of *Parma*, who march'd into the Province of *Limburg*, took the Capital City of the same Name, and all the other Towns of that Province on Articles, except *Dalem*,

Dalem, which was taken by Aſſault, and the Garriſon put to the Sword, with all the Inhabitants. At *Limburg* he eſcap'd a very remarkable danger, for having maſter'd the Cittadel, he intended to Lodge in it the ſame night, but ſuddenly changing his Reſolution, return'd to his Camp, and lay in his Tent, and not long after the Magazine of the Cittadel blew up, and with it the Lodgings which were provided for the Prince. *Don John* recovering his health, and hearing the *German*, *Engliſh* and *French* Auxiliaries were join'd with the Army of the States, Commanded by the Count *de Boſſu*, he reſolv'd to Attack them in their Camp, believing himſelf ſtrong enough to force it, before they undertook any Siege. Purſuant to this Reſolution he advanc'd towards the Count *de Boſſu*, Encamp'd near *Rimeneau*. The Out-Guards of the States were repuls'd by the *Spaniards*; but Sir *John Norris* and Colonel *Stuart*, with the *Engliſh* and *Scots* coming to their Aſſiſtance, the *Spaniards* were driv'n back till greater Numbers ariv'd to ſupport them, and the *Statiſts* having the ſame Relief, about 12000 on both ſides engag'd, to the great diſadvantage of the *Spaniards*. *Don John* ſaid his Men had gone too far beyond their Orders, and wou'd have abandon'd them, had not *Farneſe* repreſented the Cruelty of ſuch an Action, and with a Body of Horſe engag'd

to bring 'em off, which he did, boldly Charging at the head of his freſh Troops, and by this means gave the *Spaniards* and *Walloons* time to retreat, tho' not without great loſs. He afterwards did the ſame himſelf, for which *Boſſu* is blam'd, and that he did not puſh his Victory farther. *Don John* retir'd with his Army, and the *Statiſts* ſurpriz'd *Arſchot*, which made the Governor General hearken to Terms of Peace; but the Demands of the States were ſo high, that his haughty Spirit cou'd not comply with them, till the Prince of *Parma* perſwaded him to yield to neceſſity. While the Treaty depended *Don John* dy'd in his Camp at *Bouge* near *Namur*, and left his Government to thePrince of *Parma*, whom the King of *Spain* confirm'd in that Office.

The firſt thing he did as Governor, was to order Mr. *Egremond Ratcliffe*, Son to the Earl of *Suſſex*, and Mr. *Grey*, another *Engliſhman*, to be Executed, for Conſpiring againſt the Life of the late Governor. Theſe Gentlemen were thought Guiltleſs of the Conſpiracy; the rather, becauſe *Ratcliffe* was a great Promoter of the Rebellion in the North of *England*, rais'd by the Papiſts againſt Queen *Elizabeth*. The Prince, when he came to his Government, had only the Prince of *Orange* to oppoſe him, and the Name of the Arch-Duke *Matthias*. The talk of a Peace was of ſhort continuance, the

Prince

Prince changing his Sentiments with his Condition: And finding he ſhou'd not have ſo much work on his hands as *Don John*, he choſe rather to proſecute the War, and reduce the *Statiſts* by Force, than to Grant them the Terms they Demanded. He therefore Muſter'd his Army in the Camp at *Bouge*, in the beginning of the Year 1579. and found them to be 24000 Foot and 7000 Horſe; with theſe he paſs'd the *Ruer* and the *Maeſe* in ſight of the Enemy, and Encamp'd near *Weart*, a little City of *Gueldre*. He detach'd *Mondragon* to take *Carpen*, which was done, and the Proteſtant Governor hung up before the Walls. He ſent Colonel *Baldez* to ſieze *Weart*, which was too weak to make any Defence againſt ſuch an Army. He himſelf hearing a Party of 700 *German* Horſe were out, march'd after them with a like Number, fought, defeated them, kill'd 200 on the place, and took 50, the reſt eſcap'd to *Arſchot*. He then order'd all his Cavalry, and part of his Foot, to join him, and having notice that the whole Body of the *German* Horſe were, to the Number of 4 or 5000, at *Turnhout*, a Village between *Antwerp* and *Bois le Duc*; he march'd to Attack them, *Turnhout*, being an open place. The *Germans* remov'd to *Bois le Duc*, but the Inhabitants wou'd not admit 'em into the Town; and thus ſtreightned by the haſty March of the

Prince of *Parma*, they thought beſt to accept of the Paſſes he offer'd them, and return to *Germany*. *Caſimir*, the Prince Palatine, who brought them into the *Netherlands*, ſhowing more Inclination to live in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Court at eaſe, than to head his Troops in the *Low Countries*. The retreat of theſe Auxiliaries was a terrible Loſs to the Prince of *Orange*. *Farneſe* to improve his Advantage beſieg'd *Borchoute* near *Antwerp*, where was a Garriſon of 2000 Men *Engliſh* and *French*, Commanded by Sir *John Norris* and Captain *La Noüe*. The Works of this Place were not ſo ſtrong as the Garriſon, who defended themſelves in the Town it ſelf after the Enemy had Enter'd, and then fought retreating till they reach'd *Antwerp*. This Misfortune made the Seigneur *de Pardieu*, Chief of the Catholick Malecontents, and the Seigneur *de Mennis* Governor of St. *Omer*, reconcile themſelves to the King of *Spain*, and on the Report of their Reconciliation, 5000 *Walloon* Roman Catholicks deſerted the Prince of *Orange*. Theſe headed by *Francis Pepin* drove the Proteſtant Garriſons out of *Menin* and *Berghe St. Winox*; ſo great a Deſertion allarm'd the remainder of the Catholicks of the Prince of *Orange*'s Faction, and the Chiefs of the *Statiſts* ſent Deputies to the Prince of *Parma* before *Maeſtricht* to make their Peace; he magnificently Feaſted

ed and Concluded a Treaty with them, by which the greateſt part of the Papiſts abandon'd the Prince of *Orange*, who had ventur'd every thing to preſerve the Liberty of the *Netherlands*, and was now reduc'd to depend on the Strength of his Proteſtant Army and Auxiliaries from *England* and *France*.

The Prince of *Parma* beſieg'd *Maeſtricht* the 8th of *March* 1579. the place was defended by *Sebaſtian Tapin*, who had diſtinguiſh'd himſelf in the Siege of *Rochelle*; the Garriſon conſiſted of 6000 *Engliſh*, *French*, *Scots* and *Dutch*, who kept their Ground four Months, and were ſo weaken'd by Sickneſs and Sallies, that they were reduc'd to 2000, and had not Men enough to defend their Works. The Prince of *Parma* was ill of a Fever in his Tent, yet finding there were no hopes of finiſhing the Siege, but by a vigorous Aſſault, he commanded the place to be ſtorm'd in the beginning of *July* 1580. and the *Spaniards* and *Walloons* enter'd it with their Swords in their Hands. The Garriſon, the Inhabitants, and even the Women of the Town reſiſted to the laſt; but they were forc'd to yield to Numbers, and all of them 8000 Men, Women and Children were Butcher'd. The Prince of *Orange* ſeeing he cou'd not relieve *Maeſtricht*, endeavour'd to get the Prince of *Parma* to raiſe the Siege, by the Media-

tion of the Miniſters of ſeveral *German* Princes met at *Cologne*, and the Emperor *Rodolphus* theIId.ſent the Duke *deTerra Nova* toPrince *Alexander* withPropoſitionsof Peace, which he refus'd, and gave his Imperial Majeſty ſuch Reaſons for it, as were Satisfactory to that Prince, a good Catholick. The Duke *deTerra Nova* betray'd his Commiſſion, and for breaking off the Treaty was made Viceroy of *Catalonia*, by King *Philip*. The Conqueſt of *Maeſtricht* made the Proteſtants tremble, and nothing but the undaunted Courage and Conduct of the Prince of *Orange*, the Soul of the League, cou'd have kept it up. The Prince of *Parma* enter'd *Maeſtricht* in Triumph, and 4000 *Germans* of the *Auſtrian* Faction, quarrell'd with as many *Walloons* about Precedence, from words they fell to blows, and fought till the Prince's preſence quieted them. The *Germans* mutiny'd alſo for want of pay, to whom the Duke *de Terra Nova*, who was ſent by the Emperor to compoſe Matters in the *Low-Countries*, gave privately 10000 Crowns, and the Governor ſold his Plate to ſatisfie them. *Bois le Duc* terrify'd with the Fate of *Maeſtricht*, drove out their *Hugonot* Garriſon, and ſubmitted to the Conqueror, *Malines* did the ſame, *Bruges* expell'd their Proteſtant Magiſtrates and Miniſters. But before the Papiſts cou'd admit a *Spaniſh* Garriſon, eight Companies of

Scots

Scots enter'd the City, and kept them in Obedience. The Duke *de Terra Nova*, a Traitor, under appearance of an Ambaſſador from the Emperor for Peace, debauch'd the Prince of *Orange*'s Friends from him by Money, and fair Promiſes. *Lalain* Governor of *Friſeland* and *Overiſſel*, ſold thoſe Provinces, and had King *Philip* been as Generous, as he was Cruel, he might have bought off at that time moſt of the Malecontents. But weary of the vaſt expence of the War, and loath to buy a Peace, he thought of getting one on Terms, ſo he order'd the Governor to ſend away his *Spaniards*, whom the *Walloons* heartily hated, and indeed 'tis the fortune of the People of that Nation, never to be belov'd whereever they go. As the *Spaniſh* Garriſon evacuated *Namur*, one of the Soldiers march'd out with an empty Purſe on his Pike, which the Prince of *Parma* perceiving, cut him over the Face, and order'd him to be hang'd up. The *Spaniards* were lead out of *Flanders* by *Octavius Gonzagua*, and arriv'd in *Milan* in *March* 1580. as ſoon as they were gone, the *Hollanders* began to enlarge their Bounds. *La Noüe* ſurpriz'd *Ninove*, and Sir *John Norris*, *Malines*. Theſe Succeſſes oblig'd the Prince to ſummon the chief of the *Flemands* to *Mons*, and repreſent to 'em the Danger, the King of *Spain* had expos'd the *Netherlands* to, by ſending away his Troops,

Natives of *Spain*, to pleaſe them, and to ſhew, he rely'd wholly on their Fidelity. The *Flemiſh* Lords agreed, that the Provinces ſhou'd raiſe and maintain 30000 Foot, and 5000 Horſe, the King allowing 250000 Crowns a Month towards maintaining them. The Marquiſs *de Roubaix* was to be General, who in his firſt Enterprize oblig'd *la Noüe* to raiſe the Siege of *Engelmunſter*, and took that brave *Hugonot* Priſoner. He was carry'd to *Mons*, and honourably entertain'd by the Prince of *Parma*. The King this Year ſent *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, a very Ambitious Woman, to ſhare the Government of the *Netherlands* with her Son, the Prince of *Parma*, and ſhe ſtaid with him three Years. At her publick Entrance into *Namur*, the *Germans* mutiny'd again for their pay, and the Garriſon of *Maeſtricht* threaten'd to open their Gates to the Prince of *Orange* for the ſame Reaſon; among theſe Prince *Alexander* diſtributed 2000 Crowns, remitted him by his Father, which contented them for the preſent. The Seigneur *d' Auxi* deliver'd up the Caſtle of *Likerk* to the Prince of *Orange*, and Count *Horn* intended to do the ſame by *Armentieres*, but was prevented by a Diſcovery. The Prince of *Parma* order'd *Roubaix* to viſit him, being his Acquaintance, and thus to ſecure his Perſon, which he did, and brought him to *Queſnoi*, and thence to *Bruſſels*, where he was accus'd

of

of a pretended Conſpiracy to kill the Prince of *Parma*, and for this beheaded. The Prince beſieg'd *Bouchain* in 1581. and in a few Days forc'd it to Capitulate. *Nivelle* ſurrender'd to the Count *de Mansfeild* the 5th of *October*, and the Garriſon of *Conde* on the Appearance of Prince *Alexander* before it plunder'd the Town, and left it. The Prince of *Orange* held a Meeting of the States of *Holland* at *Antwerp*, and recommended to them to throw of the Yoke of King *Philip*, and call in the Duke *d'Alencon* to be their Sovereign.

The King enrag'd to ſee him ſo publickly defie his Authority, declar'd him guilty of High Treaſon the 4th of *February* 1580. and the Prince of *Parma* put out a Proclamation, ſetting a price of 25000 Crowns on his Head.

The Arch-Duke *Matthias* finding the States had no more to ſay to him, retir'd to *Leige*, and the Provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand* took an Oath of Fidelity to the Prince of *Orange*, in the Duke of *Alencon*'s Abſence. The Prince of *Parma* to revenge himſelf for theſe Affronts, ſent the Seigneur *de Barlemont* with a Detachment to *Breda*, a *Barony* belonging to the Houſe of *Naſſau*, who by means of a Corporal, debauch'd by the Seigneur *de Frezin*, a Priſoner in that City, enter'd the Town, ſurpriz'd the Garriſon, and put all the *Hollanders* he found there to the Sword. Count

Mans-

Mansfeild reduc'd *Nivelle*, and *Roubaix* beſieg'd *Cambray*, the Duke of *Alencon* had reinforc'd the Garriſon with 1000 *French* Foot, who got into the Town, with *John de Monluc*, their Commander, and *Alencon* himſelf, advanc'd with an Army to relieve the City. On a review of his Troops at *Chatelet*, they were 12000 Foot and 5000 Horſe effective, and to amuſe the Prince of *Parma*, *Pompone de Bellievre* waited upon him at *Valenciennes*, to aſſure him in the name of the *French* King, that his Maſter was not concern'd in the Duke of *Alencon*'s Enterprize. The Prince, not to be deluded with ſuch Artifices mounted a Horſeback, and with only 2000 Horſe and 5000 Foot appear'd before *Cambray*. The *French* were not above 2 miles of, and did not expect him ſo ſoon after the meſſage brought him by *de Bellievre*. The Duke of *Guiſe*, an implacable Enemy of the Proteſtant Cauſe, had Traiterouſly given the Prince of *Parma* advice, that the *French* Kings Army were on their march to ſecond the Duke of *Alencon*. The Prince was not ſtrong enough to hinder the paſſing of the *French*, ſo he retir'd towards *Bouchain* in ſight of the Enemy, who durſt not attempt any thing on his Rear, and without loſing a Man, brought off his Army. The Duke of *Alencon* enter'd *Cambray* in Triumph the 18th of *Auguſt* 1581, and by detach'd Parties, made himſelf Maſter of *Bourg d'Arleux*,

l'Ecluſe

l'Ecluſe and *Chateau Cambrenſis*. Theſe were the greateſt of the *French* Conqueſts at that time in the *Netherlands*. *Alencon* retir'd to *Chatelet* with his Troops, which were reduc'd to 8000 men. *Parma* attack'd *Tournai*, from whence the Prince *d'Epinoi* with the Garriſon made frequent Sallies, and deſtroy'd the Neighbouring Country. This City made a reſolute defence, the Prince of *Parma* was twice wounded at the Siege, once by a ſhot taking ſome Ruins where he ſtood, and he was Bury'd in the Rubbiſh. The Army believing him Dead till he was found there, and taken up with little hurt. The Prince of *Epinoi* to divert him, ſally'd out of *Tournay*, and gathering ſome Troops together, attack'd *Gravelin*, having Intelligence with the Townſmen; but that being diſcover'd, he was forc'd to give over his deſign. In the mean time his Lady, Count *Horn*'s Niece, defended *Tournay* to the laſt extremity, and then retir'd to *Oudenard*. The Townſmen bought their Capitulation with a good ſum of Money, which Prince *Farneſe* diſtributed among his Soldiers. He took hold of the Duke of *Alencon*'s Invaſion, to perſwade the Popiſh *Flemands* to admit of the return of the *Spaniards*, ſince their Enemies the *Gueux* had brought in the *French*.

And not to let the Catholicks cool in their Zeal, he made a feignt on *Menin*, and

then

then Beſieg'd *Oudenard* with his ſmall Army of 8000 men. At this Siege he was in great danger of his Life. As he was at Table a Bullet ſhot off the Head of a *Flemiſh* Captain in his Tent, wounded 4 more, and ſtain'd the Diſhes with Blood; yet he neither chang'd his Countenance nor his Seat, and ſaid to an Officer who repreſented to him the Peril he was in, that *he wou'd never be oblig'd to remove by Rebels*. This City was call'd for its ſtrength and importance *little Rochelle*, yet after 2 months vigorous reſiſtance it Capitulated, and *Farneſe* enter'd it in view of the Duke of *Alencon* and a powerful Army. Here he heard Maſs, which had not been celebrated in the Churches for 4 years laſt paſt, and this he always did to conſecrate them, after the prophanations of the Proteſtants. He was ſo pious a Catholic, that he never planted a Battery, made an Attack, ſtorm'd a Breach, or gave Battle, but in the name of ſome Saint; and if 'twas on a Holyday, he preferr'd that Saint to any other. From *Oudenard* he went to *Luxemburg* to meet 5000 *Spaniards* and 4000 *Italians*, whom the King had ſent to his aſſiſtance. With this reinforcement he advanc'd towards the Duke of *Alencon*, who was encamp'd near *Berghe St Winox*, and the *French* to avoid the Combat, retir'd towards *Ghent*. *Farneſe* follow'd him ſo cloſe, that he was forc'd to an engagement almoſt

under

under the Walls of that City, which was then the Capital of the *Hollanders*. The *Spaniards* fought with the greater rage, remembring the affront they lately receiv'd, when they were driven out of the *Netherlands*. They forc'd the Dukes Camp, plunder'd the Waggons, and kill'd 1000 *French*, the reſt retreated under the Cannon of *Ghent*, or they had been all cut in pieces. While the Confederates were proclaiming their new Sovereign Earl of *Flanders*, and Feaſting him and themſelves in *Gant*. *Farneſe* took *Chateau Cambrenſis*, *l'Ecluſe*, *Goesbeck*, *Ninove*, and the Duke of *Alencon* perceiving his Cauſe everywhere like to decline, reſolv'd on an Action, which none but *French* Councels wou'd have put him upon, to ſuffer his Men to plunder the rich City of *Antwerp*, and ſeize all the other Towns of the *Netherlands* that they cou'd Maſter. The Prince of *Parma* improv'd the confuſion the Confederates were in, on the Treaſon of their *French* Protector, purſu'd the Duke, who knew not whither to fly from him, and at laſt ſurrounded him in *Dunkirk*. Monſieur *Biron*, *Alencon*'s Lieutenant, was poſted with a Body of Troops to defend the paſſage to *Dunkirk*. Theſe the Prince attack'd, defeated, and came before the Town, 3 hours after the Duke made his eſcape, and return'd to *France* in the latter end of *June* 1583. *Farneſe* was very merciful to the People of *Dunkirk*, and this uſage

tempted *Newport Berghe St. Winox*, *Furnes*, *Dixmuyde* and *Menin* to ſurrender, all which places he reduc'd in 5 months; and the *Engliſh* quarter'd at *Aloſt* quarrelling with the *French*, deliver'd up that City to him.

Theſe Conqueſts brought his Enemies into a low Condition, and his Affairs were ſo proſperous, that he thought he cou'd ſpare part of his Army to aſſiſt Prince *Erneſt* of *Bavaria*, in his Election to the Biſhoprick of *Cologne*, where the Elector, then Reigning, was to be turn'd out for Hereſy, and a Catholick put in his room. The Prince *de Ligne* Commanded this Detachment, and ſucceeded in his Enterprize. *Bruges* was about the ſame time betray'd to the Prince of *Parma* by the Governor, a Gentleman belonging to the Prince of *Chimai*, a Roman Catholick. Thus were *Farneſe*'s Arms, and his Conduct, every where Fortunate; and to Crown all his Succeſſes, the Prince of *Orange* was Aſſaſſinated the 10th. of *July* 1584 at *Delft*, and the ſame Month the Duke of *Alencon* dy'd at *Chateau Thierry* of Vexation and Deſpair. The *Hollanders* Choſe the Prince of *Orange*'s ſecond Son Count *Maurice* their Protector, and his Unkle Count *de Holac* for his Lieutenant. *Philip*, Prince of *Orange*, being in *Spain* bred up a Papiſt, and therefore unworthy the Honour his younger Brother Count *Maurice* afterwards ſo well deſerv'd. The Prince

of

of *Parma* was ſenſible what a Loſs the Death of their Founder was to the new Republick of *Holland*; and while they were in Conſternation he Beſieg'd *Antwerp*, and had it Deliver'd up on Articles, tho' not without loſing a vaſt Number of Men, and many Perſons of the higheſt Quality. We do not pretend to be particular in this, or other Sieges, where the Prince always diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by his undaunted Courage, and conſummate Experience in Martial Affairs, and in none more than in the famous Siege of *Antwerp*, which wou'd its ſelf, to be deſcrib'd at large, take up as much room as we are confin'd to in writing his Life; and unleſs we had undertaken to make an entire Hiſtory of it in all its Circumſtances, we did not think it proper to be particular in this only, and touch lightly on others.

Bruſſels was ſo ſtreightned by the Garriſon of *Vilvorde*, that after the news of the taking of *Antwerp*, that Capital City, the Seat of the Governors of the *Netherlands*, return'd to the Obedience of his Catholick Majeſty, and *Nimeguen* not long after did the ſame. So many Loſſes oblig'd the *Hollanders* to ſeek out for ſome new Protector. They firſt implor'd the Aſſiſtance of *Henry* the 3d. the *French* King; but that Prince newly come to *France* from *Poland*, rather Choſe to enjoy the Sweets of a rich Crown, than to break the Peace with *Spain*.

He

He left the States to Apply to the Queen of *England*, who readily Agreed to protect 'em, and ſent the Earl of *Leiceſter*, her Favourite, with 10000 Men, to take on him the Government of that Infant State, and he was magnificently receiv'd at the *Hague*, as Governor General of the Republick. The Prince of *Parma*, to ſhew he was not daunted with the Arrival of the new Governor, welcom'd him with the Siege of *Grave*, at which Count *Mansfield* at firſt Commanded. But 400 *Engliſh* having got into the Town, the Prince went himſelf to preſs the Beſieg'd the more cloſely, and after one unfortunate Aſſault, the Beſiegers preparing for another, the Garriſon weaken'd by the former Surrender'd at Diſcretion the 7th of *June* 1585. *Venlo* was deliver'd to him on the ſame Terms, and the new Biſhop of *Cologne* coming to him to deſire Succours, againſt the Count *de Meurs* of the Houſe of *Naſſau*, who was deſtroying his Electorate, the Prince wou'd not accept of the Hat, and the Conſecrated Sword, brought him by the Abbot *Grimani* from Pope *Sextus* the fifth, till he had merited thoſe Honours, by freeing the Church of *Cologne* from ſo dangerous an Enemy. At his approach to the Proteſtants they abandon'd the Iſland which covers *Nuiis*, lately taken by the Count *de Meurs*, and that City was reduc'd by Storm. The Governor, and a Proteſtant Miniſter, were

were hung up at a Window at the requeſt of the Catholick Prelate, who wou'd not be ſatisfy'd without it, tho' *Farneſe* inclin'd to ſave them. The Town was plunder'd, and the Garriſon maſſacred by the Procurement of the Biſhop, and after this Conqueſt the Prince accepted of his Holineſſes Preſents, having richly deſerv'd them by the Maſſacre of 2000 Hereticks; and the Marquiſs *du Guaſt*, in the Name of the King of *Spain*, preſented him with the Order of the *Golden Fleece* in his Tent at the Camp before *Nuys*. When the Ceremony was over, he march'd to recover the reſt of the Electorate of *Cologne*, which was faithful to their Lawful and Rightful Lord *Gerard Truchſez*, the late Archbiſhop, and in his way he took in the Town and Cittadel of *Meurs*. He alſo made himſelf Maſter of *Alpen*, and had ſoon ſubjected the other Places above and below *Rhinberg*, and that City, with the reſt, if the Progreſs of the Earl of *Leiceſter* in *Flanders* had not call'd him thither to put a ſtop to it. And hearing *Leiceſter* was before *Zutphen*, he march'd himſelf with 600 Horſe, and 300 Laden Waggons, night and day, carry'd his Convoy into *Zutphen*, and wou'd have ſtaid in the Place to defend it, had not his Officers perſwaded him, that his Preſence wou'd be more neceſſary elſewhere. He then ſet forth with a Party of Horſe to meet 4000 *Ger-*

man Horſe coming to join the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and having ſome notice of their diſcontent with the Count *de Meurs*, for failing in his Promiſe to pay them a Sum of Money, he ſent an Agent to Treat with them, and they were, for a ſmall matter, bought off, and return'd to *Germany*. The Earl of *Leiceſter* ſtill preſs'd the *Spaniards* in *Zutphen*, and the Prince of *Parma*, even in his ſight, carry'd another great Convoy into the place, offer'd him Battle, and then return'd to *Bruſſels*. *Leiceſter*, weary of the length of the Siege, and fearful of his Miſtreſs's Jealouſy, who did not like the extraordinary Honours that were paid him by the *Hollanders*, took Shipping, and left the Command of the Army to the *Dutch* General, the States not being ſo well pleas'd with the *Engliſh* as to deſire another of that Nation to be ſet over them; tho' they thought, at firſt, they cou'd not enough Careſs the Earl of *Leiceſter*. This Year 1586 the Duke of *Parma* dy'd, and his Son demanded Leave of the King of *Spain* to Viſit his Eſtates in *Italy*; but his Catholick Majeſty us'd ſo many obliging Arguments to perſwade him to ſtay in his Government, that he cou'd not reſiſt them. He did all that lay in his power to ſave the *Scots* Queen in *England*, who was Beheaded for Treaſonable Deſigns againſt Queen *Elizabeth*'s Life; and when he heard ſhe was dead,

dead, he wrote to the King of *Spain*, that *the Catholicks ſhou'd rather rejoice than grieve, for that there was one more Martyr who had laid down her Life for the Catholick Faith in Heaven.* And indeed the Prince was Bigot enough to think as he ſpoke, having always as many Jeſuits and Prieſts about him as Guards and Officers, and 'twas his vanity to be thought the Church's Champion. The *Hollanders* had, ſome time before, ſurpriz'd *l'Eſcluſe*, and the Prince of *Parma* early the next Year 1587 march'd to reduce it; but *Leiceſter* being again arriv'd in *Holland* with large Supplies of Men and Money, and advancing to relieve that Fortreſs, the Prince Commanded the Marquiſs *de Renti* to continue the Siege, and himſelf, tho' with half the Number of *Leiceſter*'s Army, turn'd to meet him; but this General inglorioufly ſhun'd the Combat, made to his Veſſels, and ſail'd to *Oſtend*.

The Earl of *Leiceſter* having loſt *l'Ecluſe*, and ſeveral other Towns in *Flanders* and *Guelderland*, was well enough contented with his Miſtreſs's recalling him to *England*. 'Tis ſaid he had the ſame ambitious Deſigns as the Duke of *Alencon*, and with the Aſſiſtance of his *Engliſh* Army to ſeize *Leiden*, and Erect a new Sovereignty there. This Conſpiracy was detected, and Queen *Elizabeth* hearing of the Formidable preparations of the King of *Spain* to make a Deſcent into *England* offer'd that Monarch

peace, which he refus'd, and reſolv'd to raiſe 40000 Foot, and 3000 Horſe, of whom the Duke of *Parma* was to be General, and Land 'em in *England*. Theſe Forces were to be ſhip'd part in *Spain*, and part in *Flanders*, but before the *Invincible Armada*, cou'd reach the *Netherlands* to take in *Farneſe*. The *Engliſh* and Tempeſts deſtroy'd the Fleet in the Year 1588, and of 135 Sail ſcarce 30 return'd to *Spain*, and 10000 Men of the 18000 that were aboard periſh'd in this Expedition. The Prince ſtaid at *Dunkirk*, in expectation of the *Armada* to Tranſport him, and his Army, conſiſting of 26000 Horſe and Foot into *England*. He might there be a Witneſs of the Wrecks which the *Engliſh* made out of the *Spaniſh* Navy, and in deſpair of the boaſted Conqueſt of *England*, he was oblig'd to reſt ſatisfy'd with the Siege of *Bergen-op-zoom*. If we cou'd believe the falſe Accounts giv'n by *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians of their *Armada*, the *Spaniards* ſuffer'd more by Storms than by their Enemies; but this is as true as that Queen *Elizabeth* tempted the Duke of *Parma*, before *Bergen-op-zoom*, to make himſelf Sovereign of *Flanders*, and that he threw the Letter to the ground in Scorn of the Temptation, and ſent it afterwards to the King of *Spain*, who wrote an Anſwer with his own hand, and aſſur'd the Prince he had not the leaſt Jealouſy of him. He left

the

the Marquiſs *de Renti* before *Bergen-op-zoom*, who fail'd in the Enterprize, and himſelf march'd into the Electorate of *Cologne*, took *Bonn*, and brought that Archbiſhoprick entirely under the Obedience of the Popiſh Prelate lately ſet over it, by the unjuſt Expulſion of *Truchſez*. The joy of theſe Victories was abated by the increaſing of his Diſtempers, particularly the Dropſy, which in the Year 1589 was ſo apparent that his Friends began to fear for him. His Phyſicians advis'd him to make uſe of the *Spaw*, which he was perſwaded to do, and leaving the neceſſary Orders with Count *Mansfeild* he went to that Village, in the Dioceſs of *Leige* to drink the Waters. Here he receiv'd Gratulatory Letters from *Erneſt* of *Bavaria*, the pretended Biſhop of *Cologne*, thanking him for putting him in Poſſeſſion of that Church, and Acknowledging he ow'd all to his Generoſity and Valour. Which Letters *Farneſe* ſent to *Spain*, and were a grateful Preſent to his Catholick Majeſty. The next Year 1590 King *Philip* fond of any Occaſion to embroil *France*, join'd with the *League* to keep *Hen.* the 4th. from that Crown, he being then a Ptoteſtant. The Pretence made uſe of by *Philip* was, to maintain the Catholick Religion, and oppoſe Hereſy, and he cou'd not have had a General fitter for ſuch an Employment than the Duke of *Parma*. *Henry*

the 4th. had brought *Paris* into ſuch diſtreſs, that the *League* had no way to ſave it but by Calling in the Governor of the *Netherlands*. The Duke *de Mayenne* Head of the *League*, met the Duke of *Parma* at *Conde*, and there 'twas reſolv'd when, and how, they ſhou'd relieve *Paris*. The Prince before he cou'd himſelf get ready, order'd the Sieur *de St. Paul*, with 1000 Horſe, to attempt to throw himſelf, and a ſmall Convoy of Proviſions, into the City, which he perform'd, tho' *Henry* detach'd a Party who met the *Spaniards* and *Italians* at *Laon*, and fought 'em with equal Advantage. St. *Paul*, by the Duke *de Mayennes* order, retir'd during the Skirmiſh with his Convoy, and carry'd it ſafe into *Paris*. Theſe Proviſions were ſoon ſpent, and the *Pariſians*, almoſt ſtarv'd, Implor'd the Prince to aſſiſt them, who having receiv'd freſh orders from *Spain*, ſent 'em word he would be with them the 15th of *Auguſt*, and yet 'twas reſolv'd, in the Council of War, not to enter *France* till the firſt of the ſame Month. The third he march'd with his Army from *Valenciennes*, the Marquiſs *de Renti* led the Van Guard, the Duke of *Parma* himſelf led the Main Body, and *La Motte* the Rear, with 20 pieces of Cannon, and a great quantity of Ammunition. The Duke ſays *Davila* was very ſtrict in his Diſcipline while he was in *France*, and ſo affable, that he behav'd himſelf more like

a *French-*

a *French*-man than an *Italian* bred in *Spain*. He was careful to prevent his Soldiers Plundering the Country, or Offending the People. *Cambden*, on the contrary informs us, That having reliev'd *Paris*, he march'd back, *with greater Commendations for his Military Skill, and wiſely forbearing to fight, than for his good Diſcipline in reſtraining his Soldiers Licentiouſneſs, who ſacrilegiouſly Violated the very Churches.* 'Tis left to the Reader to reconcile theſe two Hiſtorians, if poſſible. On the 23*d.* of *Auguſt* the Duke of *Parma* arriv'd at *Meaux*, and there the Duke *de Mayenne* join'd him with 10000 Foot, and 2400 *French* Horſe. *Henry* having Advice of the approach of the *Spaniards*, rais'd the Siege of *Paris* the 30th of *Auguſt*, and march'd to *Chelles*, a Village 4 Leagues from that City, where he encamp'd with 7000 Horſe, and 20000 Foot. He was ſcarce poſted there, when ſome Squadrons of *Italian* and *Burgundian* Horſe appear'd on the top of a Hill, between him and the Duke of *Parma*. The Duke himſelf rode forth, with the Duke *de Mayenne*, to view the Enemy's Camp, and there were frequent Skirmiſhes between Detachments from both Armies. *Parma* having obſerv'd the diſpoſition of the Enemy, return'd to his own Camp, Fortify'd it and ſtay'd there 4 days. *Henry*, who was weary of waiting upon him, ſent to the Duke *de Mayenne*,

that 'twas time to decide the diſpute by a Battle. The Duke told *Farneſe*, and this Prince return'd for Anſwer, *That he believ'd his way of proceeding diſpleas'd* Henry de Bourbon; *But if he was ſo great a Soldier as Fame reported him, he ſhou'd ſhow his Skill in forcing him to fight againſt his Will; for he wou'd never put that in the pow'r of Fortune, of which he was already ſure.* While the King and *Farneſe* were obſerving one another, the *Pariſians* ſtarv'd, and this oblig'd the Duke of *Parma* to think of Succouring them. He therefore gave out he wou'd fight King *Henry*, he drew out his Army in Battalia the 5th. of *Sept.* plac'd ſome Squadrons of Lances in the Van, and all the Light Horſe Commanded by *Renti*, ordering him when he was arriv'd at the top of the Hill, to take up the Ground as much as poſſible, by ſpreading his Lances out at length on the Plain, and making two great Wings of his Light Horſe, and to march thus towards the Enemy, deſcending the Hill ſoftly, till he arriv'd in the open Field, below and to halt often for new orders. The Duke *de Mayenne* lead the Main Body with the *Spaniſh* and *Italian* Foot, and 20 pieces of Cannon. The Sieur *La Motthe* Commanded the Rear, made up of *Walloon* Infantry, and *Burgundian* Lances. Collonel St. *Paul* and Monſieur *La Chaſtre*, was in the Flank of the Battle (ſeparated

on

on the Right and Left) with the *French* Horſe and Foot.

The Duke of *Parma* with Count *Sforza*, and other Perſons of Quality, and 100 Horſe Rode up and down every where to give Directions, and took no particular Command on him, in this order he march'd reſolutely along the High-way. The King at the ſight of his approach was big with Expectation of Battel, drew up his Army, and prepar'd his Artillery to fire. *Renti* extending himſelf as wide as he cou'd deſcended into the open Field. The Duke of *Parma* ſeeing it cover'd with his Van Guard, and that the King's Army ſtood ready to fight, ſet Spurs to his Horſe, and gallop'd to the Head of the main Body, ſtop'd the Duke *de Mayenne*, who was ſtill marching to the Enemy, and made him turn off ſuddenly towards *Lagni*, which ſtands on the left hand, changing the order of his Army, the Battle became the Van, and the Rear the Battle, and marching with all poſſible ſpeed, he arriv'd at *Lagni*, and poſſeſs'd himſelf of the Suburbs, Attack'd the Town, Maſter'd it, Encamp'd at *Pompone*, and Fortify'd his Camp. *Renti*, with the Vanguard, held the King's Army, for many hours, in hopes of fighting, and in the Evening began likewiſe to march towards *Lagni*, leaving the Enemy ſurpriz'd with his motions, and King *Henry* did not, till 'twas too late,

gueſs

gueſs at *Farneſes* deſign. To Revenge himſelf of this Affront, he endeavour'd to get 7000 Men, under the Command of the Count *de Chatilon*, into *Paris* by ſurprize; but as the Foremoſt of the Soldiers was ſcaling the Walls, a Jeſuit diſcover'd him, fought him, and this Allarm'd the Citizens, by which means the Enterprize came to nothing. The Prince of *Parma* having open'd a Paſſage by the Road of *Lagni* to *Paris*, the City was plentifully ſupply'd with Proviſions, and himſelf receiv'd there in Triumph; this being indeed the moſt glorious Action of his Life. He ſtaid in *Paris* a few days, and then march'd to St. *Maur*, which he took, and *Corbeil* by Storm the 16th of *October*. The Governor and Garriſon were put to the Sword. The *Dutch*, while he was abſent, got ground in the *Netherlands*, which oblig'd him to return to his Government in *November*, and tho' *Henry* follow'd him in the Rear with the greateſt part of his Cavalry, he could get no Advantage over him in his Retreat. In *December* the King beſieg'd *Roan*, the only place in *Normandy*, except *Caen*, that held out for the Rebels. The Duke *de Mayenne* preſently advis'd *Farneſe* of the Danger he was in to loſe all his Conqueſts in *France* if *Roan* were loſt. On this Information he order'd Prince *Ranutius*, his Son, to march with the Army towards the Frontiers of

France,

France, and himſelf having given Count *Mansfield* Inſtructions for the ſafety of the *Netherlands* in his abſence, join'd the *Spaniſh* Army, who arriv'd at *Amiens* the 16th of *January*, and when the *French* came up with them, were in all 12000 Horſe, and 24000 Foot. *Henry* reſolv'd to meet them, and advanc'd himſelf, with 200 Horſe, and 300 Gentlemen, to obſerve the motion of the *Spaniards*, theſe met a Party of the Enemy near *Amiens*, fought them, and being out numbred, were forc'd to retire, the King was in great danger of his Life or Liberty. He was wounded in the Skirmiſh retir'd to *Neuf-Chatel*, and thence to *Diep*. The Duke of *Parma* took *Neuf-Chatel*; and *Villars*, who Commanded at *Roan*, incourag'd by ſo Powerful an Army to aſſiſt him, ſally'd out bravely, drove the Beſiegers from their Works, Nail'd down part of their Cannon, burnt their Waggons, and kill'd a great number of their Men; at laſt he was Repuls'd; but the Beſiegers did not recover their Loſs. *Farneſe* finding the Town was not in ſo much danger as was fear'd, ſent the Governor a Reinforcement of 800 Walloons, and himſelf Beſieg'd *L'Eſprit de Rue*, to amuſe King *Henry*. He paſt the *Somme* at *Blanquetagne*, between *Cretoi* and St. *Valleri*, and marching in Battalia, met and defeated the Viſcount *de Turenne*, who would have oppos'd his

his Paſſage. The King terrify'd with the Numbers of the *Spaniſh* Army, rais'd the Siege of *Roan* the 23d. of *April*, 1592. and march'd to *Pont de L'Arche* and the ſame day *Parma* entred the City. To free the Place from the Neighbourhood of the Enemy, he Beſieg'd *Caudebee*, where, as he was making his Obſervations on the Poſture of the Siege, he was wounded in the Arm with a Muſquet ſhot, ſo much, that it hindred him from Executing his Charge. The Surgeon's Inciſion to take out the Ball threw him into a Fever, and during his Indiſpoſition, Prince *Ranutius* Commanded the Army. *Caudebee* made a vigorous Defence, yet at laſt was forc'd to ſurrender, the taking of this place clear'd the River *Seine* from *Paris* to *Roan*. He ſtaid at *Caudebee* to confirm the Rebels in thoſe parts till his Proviſions were ſpent, and King *Henry* ſcouring the Country about it, hindred him from ſupplies. He paſt the *Seine* in ſight of *Henry* the great, and march'd towards *Paris*, in 4 days he arriv'd at St. *Cloud*, repaſt the *Seine*, and return'd by *Chateau Thierry* to *Flanders*. *Farneſe* left 600 *Spaniſh* Foot in *Paris*, and 3000 Walloons in the Villages around it. He was Meditating a third Expedition into *France*, where *Henry* the IVth made good uſe of his Abſence, and the Rebels decreas'd daily, when his Dropſy returning upon him violently, and his laſt Wound

Wound having weaken'd him extreamly, his Phyſicians again adviſ'd him to leave the Care of his Government to others, and go to the *Spaw*. He was loath to give over his deſign on *France*, where the *Catholick* King intended the next Year to Seize the Port Towns in *Bretaigne*, and to turn the *French* War more to his Advantage, finding the Rebels were for reconciling themſelves to King *Henry*. But *Farneſe*'s Death prevented this blow, which had been fatal to *France*, his Diſtempers growing more violent, he ſpent moſt of his Time with his Confeſſor Father *Sailli*, and having perform'd all the Duties of a good Catholick in his Condition, he departed this Life the 3d. of *December* at the Abby of St. *Vauſt*, of a Catarrh, the immediate cauſe of his Death, which was the greateſt loſs that cou'd have happen'd to the Church of *Rome*, and the King of *Spain*. He Govern'd the *Netherlands* 14 Years, and was Eſteem'd the moſt fortunate Soldier of his days.

THE

THE

LIFE

OF

Albert Wallenſtein.

PART II.

Albert Wenceſlaus Euſebius Wallenſtein, whoſe Hiſtory we write, was the Son of a *Bohemian* Baron, a Quality of ſo much Honour in *Bohemia*, that the Barons will not ſuffer a Forreign Duke to be Naturaliz'd, unleſs he contents himſelf with the Title of *Baron*, and quits that of *Duke*. The Baron *Wallenſtein* was deſcended of a very ancient Family, but 'twas fallen to decay

cay, and the Eſtate that belong'd to it was very inconſiderable.

He bred his Son *Albert* a Proteſtant, of which Religion he was himſelf a Profeſſor, and intended to Educate him in all ſorts of Learning; but his turbulent Spirit did not at all agree with the calm ſtate of the Muſes. He was, in his Youth, ſo troubleſome to his Maſters that they Expell'd him their Schools, for inſtead of minding his Book, he ſpent his time in making Parties among his Companions, and ſetting his School-Fellows one againſt another.

His backwardneſs in Letters was the reaſon that his Father ſent him early to Court, hoping he might make his Fortune there, which is the Region of Cabals and Intrigues. The Arch-Duke *Ferdinand* of *Inſpruch* made him Page to his Son the Marquiſs of *Burgau*; and while he Liv'd in the Arch-Duke's Pallace, hapning one day to fall aſleep as he was looking out of a Window, he fell down from a great height thro' the Caſement, and receiv'd no manner of hurt. The Prieſts of the Arch-Duke's Court improv'd this Accident, repreſenting to him that he was ſav'd by the Protection of *Ferdinand*'s Patron Saint, and 'twou'd be Ungrateful in him not to turn Catholick, ſince he had ſuch particular Warning from Heaven to haſten his Converſion, leſt ſome more dreadful Judgment ſhou'd light on his

his head than that from which he was now deliver'd. Young *Wallenſtein*, in a fright, ſuffer'd them to impoſe on his Underſtanding with theſe ridiculous Reaſons, and from that time renounc'd the Proteſtant Religion, and Profeſs'd himſelf a Papiſt. He fancy'd Fortune, which had ſav'd him in ſuch eminent Peril, had reſerv'd him for ſomething extraordinary; and ſeeing no great likelihood to make much of his Condition of a Page, he quitted the Arch-Duke's and his Son's Service, and went to Travel.

He made a Progreſs thro' the ſeveral States of *Germany*, from thence he proceeded to *Holland*, and the *Low Countries*. Croſs'd the Channel and Viſited *England*. From *England* he went to *France*, and from *France* to *Italy*, making every where very uſeful Obſervations on the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Countries through which he paſs'd. After having made the Tour of *Italy* he ſtaid ſome time at *Padua*, which was, in thoſe days, one of the moſt Celebrated Univerſities in the World. Here he ſaw his Error, and repented that he had neglected his Studies, which he had learn'd already was of abſolute neceſſity to render a Man every way Great. He apply'd himſelf moſt to Politicks and Aſtrology, the latter pleas'd him, for that he imagin'd the Stars flatter'd him with a proſpect of future Greatneſs, which he did not

not deſpair of, tho' Fortune had given him as yet very little Cauſe to hope to be one of her Favourites; except in ſaving his Neck, when he tumbl'd out of the Window.

In this Thoughts he return'd home and meeting with a Lady of great Quality and Eſtate; he believ'd he cou'd not put himſelf ſooner in a way to riſe, than by marrying her. She was the Widow of an *Hungarian* Lord, very rich, and her Money he hop'd wou'd make his Advancement the eaſier. The Lady prefer'd him to her Bed, before many other Lords who courted her, and 'tis ſaid, that after he had marry'd her, ſhe was ſo fond of him that to increaſe his Love for her, ſhe gave him a Philtre; which had like to have kill'd him, ſo violent was it in its Operation. He was ſcarce recover'd out of the Indiſpoſition; which follow'd the taking of the Philtre, when his Wife dy'd, and having no Children, bequeath'd all her Lands and Money to him by Will.

He was about five and twenty Years of Age, when his Lady dy'd; and not long after, the Arch-Duke *Ferdinand* made War upon the *Venetians* in *Frioul*. *Wallenſtein* rejoyc'd that ſo fair an occaſion offer'd for him to enter upon Action. The Sword he ſaw was the ſureſt and the readieſt way, to Glory. Peace, Enriches many Men, but exalts few. He rais'd 300 Horſe at

his own Charge; mounted 'em all very well, and led them to the Siege of *Gradiſca*, where he offer'd his Service to the Arch-Duke. Here he kept a Publick Table for all Officers; and by his Generoſity to them, and his Liberality to the Soldiers; he acquir'd the Love of both Soldiers and Officers, and was taken Notice off by *Ferdinand*, who made him Colonel of the Militia of *Moravia*, a Marquiſate annex'd to the Crown of *Bohemia*.

In the Year 1620. The Troubles broke out in that Kingdom. The Houſe of *Auſtria* ſince the Crown fell to their Family, had given general Diſcontent to the *Bohemians*, by the Severity of their Government; and eſpecially by denying them the Liberty of their Conſciences. The *Barons* pretended that their Kingdom was Elective, and they choſe *Frederick* the V. Count *Palatine* of the Rhine, who marry'd the Princeſs *Elizabeth* Daughter to *James* the Firſt, King of *England*, to be their King. The Revolt was almoſt general; however, *Wallenſtein* was ſo well ſatisfy'd with his New Religion, that he did not care to leave it. He therefore refus'd to joyn with the Proteſtants, and continu'd Faithful to the Emperor. Tho' he was very much tempted by fair Offers and Promiſes, to ſide with the Elector *Palatine*. On the contrary he endeavour'd to form a Party, to oppoſe his Faction in *Prague*;

But

But perceiving that they were too ſtrong for him, and that he ſhou'd not be able to keep his own Soldiers, the Militia of *Moravia*, in their Obedience to the Emperor, he ſeiz'd the Money in the Publick Treaſury, and carry'd it off to *Vienna*; where he was oblig'd to be accountable for it, and was only allow'd 12000 Crowns for himſelf, with which he rais'd a thouſand *Cuiraſſiers*.

The Arch-Duke *Ferdinand* was the Son of *Charles*, Son of *Ferdinand* the Firſt, Brother of *Charles* the Fifth. *Ferdinand* the Emperor had two Sons, *Maximilian* the Second and *Charles*, Father of *Ferdinand* the Second. *Maximilian* had 9 Sons, who dy'd all without Iſſue, and *Matthias* the Firſt ſent for *Ferdinand* his Couſin-German from *Inſpruck*, declar'd him Heir to his Hereditary Countries, and had him actually inveſted in the Kingdoms of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*. He had not been long in Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *Bohemia*, before the Papiſts began to diſturb the Proteſtants in their Liberty of Conſcience; which was the firſt riſe of the Troubles in *Bohemia*. *Ferdinand* came into the Kingdom himſelf to appeaſe the Malecontents; But the Proteſtants finding their Party at home too ſtrong for the Papiſts were very high in their Demands, and *Ferdinand* found he muſt have recourſe to Arms. On which both ſides prepar'd for War.

And the Proteſtants having formally depos'd *Ferdinand*, choſe the Elector *Palatine* for their King, as we have mention'd before. While *Ferdinand* was in *Bohemia*, *Wallenſtein* ſtuck cloſe to him, and having Notice that the Chiefs of the Proteſtant Party were going in a rude manner to demand that he wou'd agree to their Propoſitions for an Accommodation; *Wallenſtein* privately gather'd together a choſen Troop of his Friends and Followers, and went to Court, to offer his Service to the King. The Proteſtants were ſo bold that they enter'd *Ferdinand*'s Cloſet without Leave, and the Count *de la Tour* putting his Hand on his Sword, told the King, *That ſhou'd ſatisfie them, if he refus'd to give them Satisfaction.* *Wallenſtein* happily arriv'd in the very moment with his Troop, and the *Bohemians* thinking they were betray'd, threw themſelves at His Majeſty Feet, and beg'd his Pardon. But being got ſafe out of the Pallace they recover'd their Courage, and had King *James* heartily eſpous'd his Son-in-Laws Intereſt, they had certainly ſettled the Elector *Palatine* in the Throne; which had been a vaſt Advantage to the Proteſtant Religion in *Germany*.

In the Year 1621. he was made a Colonel of a Regiment, and employ'd againſt *Bethlem-Gabor* in *Hungary*; where meeting with 6000 Rebels he charg'd them, tho' he had

had but 15 Troops of Horſe with him, and put them to flight. After the Troubles in *Bohemia* were at an end by the Defeat of the Elector *Palatine*'s Army near *Prague*; the Prince of *Lichtenſtein* was made Governour of that Kingdom, and making ſtrict Inquiſition after Rebels, and thoſe who correſponded with them, He pretended to diſcover that *Wallenſtein* had been Guilty of holding Commerce with the Proteſtants. *Wallenſtein* knowing that Money is the beſt Advocate in a Court, poſted away with 60000 Crowns to *Vienna*, and not only clear'd himſelf of the Accuſation; but by his Bribes and Artifices got over the Miniſters to his ſide. And a Year or two afterwards he marry'd the Count d'*Harach*'s Daughter, a Favourite of *Ferdinand*'s, by whoſe Credit and his Money, having lent conſiderable Sums to the Emperor, he had the Command of two Regiments of Infantry, beſides his *Cuiraſſiers*, and was advanc'd to be Major General of the Imperial Army.

The Rebellion in *Hungary* which was ſuppreſt, broke out again in the Year 1625. and *Chriſtian* the Fourth King of *Denmark*, and the Proteſtants of the Empire, took Arms to defend their Civil and Religious Rights; which *Ferdinand* on his ſucceeding *Matthias* in the Imperial Throne, had very much invaded; grown inſolent with his Victories in *Bohemia* and the *Palatinate*. *Wallenſtein*

offer'd the Emperor in this Extremity, to raiſe 30000 Men at his own Charge, on Condition he might have the Command of them, to which *Ferdinand* conſented. With this Army he march'd into *Lower-Saxony*, where he ſubdu'd the City of *Halberſtadt*, and the Territories belonging to it, made himſelf Maſter of *Hall*, and it's Dioceſs, plunder'd, and deſtroy'd the Country about *Magdeburg*, invaded *Anhalt*, fortify'd *Deſſau* in *April* 1626. and defeated Count *Mansfeld*, who was advancing towards the *Elbe*, with 4000 *Hollanders*, the beſt Troops in the *Daniſh* Army, intending to enter *Sileſia*, and from thence to march into *Hungary* and *Tranſilvania*, to joyn *Bethlehem*. *Mansfeld* tho' he loſt moſt of his Men, yet himſelf with part of his Forces made his Eſcape, and got to the Duke of *Saxe-Weimar*, who was to meet him in *Sileſia*. They both advanc'd towards *Hungary*, and having joyn'd *Bethlehem*, beſieg'd *Novigrad*. *Wallenſtein* follow'd them, cut off a Body of Turks, that were marching to aſſiſt the Rebels. *Weimar* and *Mansfeld* not long kept together for on ſome Difference with *Bethlehem*, *Mansfeld* drew off from his Army, intending to return into *Germany*; but being taken ill he went to the Baths in *Hungary*, and *Weimar* led the *German* Auxiliaries, who were infected in *Bethlehem*'s-Camp with a Mortal Diſtemper, into *Sileſia*; where *Wei-*

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mar dy'd, and *Wallenſtein* following his Army, weaken'd by Sickneſs and Skirmiſhes, oblig'd them to lay down their Arms and diſperſe. Thus he drove *Mansfeld* out of *Germany*, who had for many Years been the Terror of the Papiſts in the Empire. The King of *Denmark* finding he was like to make nothing of his Expedition, ſet a Treaty of Peace on foot, and Count *Wallenſtein*, and Count *Tilly* were appointed to treat. But the Hopes of an Accommodation ſoon vaniſh'd, for *Tilly* and *Wallenſtein*, who were not willing to have the War ſo ſoon ended, advis'd the Emperor, to ſtand on ſuch extravagant Terms, that *Chriſtian* and his Confederates of the *Lower-Saxony* reſolv'd to try their Fortune in the Field, rather than baſely give up the Righteous Cauſe of Liberty. The Peace went forward in *Hungary*, and in the latter end of the Year was concluded with *Bethlehem-Gabor*. The next Year 1627. the Emperor having by *Wallenſtein's* Vigilance and Valour maſter'd the Rebels in *Hungary*, *Sileſia*, and *Ev'n* in *Auſtria*; where the Boors began to ſtir, he had Leiſure to think of the King of *Denmark*, and accordingly ſent *Wallenſtein* with an Army again to invade *Lower-Saxony*, Count *Tilly* joyn'd him in his March, and they together made up 50000 Men, with which they defeated the Marqueſs of *Baden-Durlach*, who commanded for the King of

Denmark, between the *Weſer* and the *Elbe*, and *Wallenſtein* conquer'd the Provinces of *Bremen* and *Holſtein*, oblig'd ſeveral 1000 Men, who were rais'd by Duke *Charles* of *Lawenburgh*, for the Enemy to liſt under him, and made himſelf entirely Maſter of all the Country from the *Elbe* to the *Baltick* Sea, leaving only *Gluekſtadt* in Poſſeſſion of King *Chriſtian*, who ſeeing he cou'd not keep his Ground in *Germany*, made a Deſcent on *Pomerania*. *Wallenſtein* perſu'd him thither, and drove him out of that Dutchy, forc'd him to retreat to his Ships, and then beſieg'd *Stralſund* on the *Baltick*, near the Mouth of the *Oder*. Which was the only City in *Lower-Saxony*, or *Upper-Pomerania*, that held out againſt the Emperor.

For theſe good Services *Ferdinand* created him Duke of *Mekelburgh* in *Lower-Saxony*, of *Fridland*, of *Glogow* and *Sagan* in *Sileſia*, Prince of the *Empire*, and General of his Armies. Which ſo ſwell'd him up with Pride and Preſumption, that he from thence began to form Deſigns againſt the Power that had rais'd him to ſuch a Height. In Appearance he ſeem'd ſtill zealous for the Emperor's Intereſt. And under Colour of Refreſhing his Soldiers, he prevail'd with *Ferdinand* to order Count *Tilly* to put his Army into Quarters, in the Cities at the greateſt Diſtance from the Hereditary Countries, and the Heart of the Empire, that

that the Emperor might not have a Companion in the Duke of *Bavaria*, nor himſelf a Rival in *Tilly*, the Duke's Creature; That he might remain ſole and abſolute Director of Affairs, without a Competitor, and having obtain'd his Ends, he apply'd himſelf to the Perſecution of his Grand Deſign. He liv'd in his Camp in the greateſt Splendor Imaginable; he kept a publick Table for all the Officers, and allow'd his Soldiers, in all manner of Licence, as well to gain 'em by the gentle Rein he held over them, as to increaſe the Number of the diſaffected by their Robberies, Spoil and Inſolence. For the more Malecontents he made, the more Work he cut out for *Ferdinand*.

He fill'd the Empire with Troops, and ſpar'd neither Friends nor Foes, all were alike Rob'd and Inſulted, and *Wallenſtein*, who ſuffer'd theſe Diſorders without Puniſhing the Offenders, was generally hated. The Emperor's Government grew more and more Odious, and an *Edict*, which was publiſh'd ſoon after the Expulſion of the *Danes*, declaring thoſe Guilty of Treaſon, who were any ways concern'd by Counſel, or otherwiſe, in the late Revolt, heightn'd the Diſcontents of the *Germans*, and made way for the eaſy Conqueſts of the King of *Sweden*, *Guſtavus Adolphus*, who undertook the Defence of the Liberties of the Empire, after King *Chriſtian* of *Denmark* had abandon'd

don'd the Cauſe by the Treaty of *Lubeck*. *Wallenſtein* put the Emperor on all theſe violent Methods, intending to do his own Buſineſs by it. He ſeiz'd the Eſtates of the Duke of *Mekelburgh*, and aſſum'd the Title of Highneſs. His Wealth, by the Acquiſition of the Forfeited Eſtates, was Immenſe, and his Ambition as boundleſs as his Power. He ſaw the Army were entirely at his Devotion, and he manag'd himſelf as if he was their Sovereign, taking no Notice of the Orders he receiv'd from *Vienna*: However, to prevent any farther Troubles from the *North*, he ſet about Equipping a Fleet to enable him to be as much Maſter by Sea, as he was by Land. He ſecur'd all the Ports on the *Baltick*, and ſtreightned *Stralſund* every way by Sea and Land; and ſo impatient was he of Controul, that he wrote to the Emperor not to concern himſelf about the Affairs of the War, but to take his eaſe, and leave thoſe concerns to him. He, like other Sovereigns, wou'd not permit any one to Eat at his Table. He Coin'd Money, gave Audience to Envoys, and in his Carriage and Expences affected the State and Profuſion of Kings.

After the Peace of *Lubec*, which was Concluded between *Ferdinand* and *Chriſtian*, in the latter end of the Year 1628. a famous Author, a *French*-man, and a *Catholick*, tells us, That *L'Empereur extraordinairement Preſ-*

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ſé par les Religieux, deſquels il dependoit en toutes choſes, ſe Precipita Selon Leurs Paſſions, & voulut donner le Dernier Coup a La Liberté de L'Allemagne. The Emperor Inſtigated to it in an Extraordinary manner by the Prieſts, who govern'd him in all things, went headlong according to their Paſſions, and attempted to give the laſt blow to the Liberty of Germany. He publiſh'd an *Edict* of Reſtitution of all Eccleſiaſtick Goods and Lands taken by the Proteſtants from the Papiſts, ever ſince the Reformation, and Impos'd his Son the Arch-Duke *Leopold*, on the Citizens of *Magdeburgh*, who had choſen the Elector of *Saxony*'s Son for their Prince. The King of *Sweden* was at War with the *Poles* in *Pruſſia*. The *Dane* was lately humbled, *Bohemia* and *Tranſilvania* were in quiet. The Elector *Palatine* was outed of his Dominions. The *French* divided at Home, or employ'd Abroad in a War in *Italy*, and *Wallenſtein*'s Name formidable to the Diſaffected. This the Prieſts in the Court of *Vienna* thought was a happy time to Root out Hereſy, which is a Name they give to the only true Religion in the World, and reſtore the Pope to his Tyrannick Empire over Conſciences: To this end they advis'd the Emperor to make this ſtep, and put forth an *Edict* of Reſumption, contrary to his Oath and the Treaties Concluded by him and his Predeceſſors, in favour of the Proteſtants; the latter thinking

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ing they were too weak to reſiſt *Ferdinand*'s Victorious Armies alone, call'd in *Guſtavus Adolphus* to their Aid. This Prince had been diſguſted at *Wallenſtein*'s favouring the *Poles*, and beſides he was allarm'd at his Seizing the Ports of *Germany* on the *Baltick*, and growing Powerful by Sea. Theſe Conſiderations, his Zeal for the Reformation, and his deſire of Glory, prevail'd with him to reſolve on an Expedition into *Germany* to aſſiſt the Proteſtants, and defend the Rights of the Empire. In the mean time *VVallenſtein*'s Soldiers continu'd to commit incredible ſpoil in the Territories of the *German* Princes, and the Papiſts, as well as the Proteſtants, did not like to ſee the Houſe of *Auſtria* ſo formidable. Poverty, the Natural effect of War, made the People Mutinous, and both ſides *Catholick* and *Heretick*, as they were diſtinguiſh'd, being plunder'd by *VVallenſtein*'s Troops, who were Quarter'd among them, were alike earneſt with the Emperor to redreſs their Grievances. The *Catholick* Princes demanded a general Diet, particularly the Duke of *Bavaria*, and the Elector of *Mentz*, the former out of hatred to *VVallenſtein*, who oppos'd his being admitted into the Electoral College, either out of Envy to his Honour, or out of Ambition flattering himſelf that he might aſpire to that Dignity. *Bavaria* got over Father *Joſeph*, the Emperor's Favourite and Miniſter,

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to his Intereſts. This Prieſt aſſur'd *Ferdinand*, that there was no other way for him to get his Son choſen King of the *Romans*; but to content the Princes by Calling an Imperial Diet, and depoſing *Wallenſtein*, who was improving his time in the Dutchy of *Meckelburgh*, and raiſing vaſt Sums on his new Subjects, to carry on his Projects. For deſpairing to take *Stralſund*, after the King of *Sweden* had taken the City into his Protection, he had turn'd the Siege into a Blockade, and march'd, himſelf, to reduce *Magdeburgh*; which he effected, and from thence went into his Dutchy, to enjoy the Sweets of his new Sovereignty, and provide for enlarging his Dominions, and riſing yet higher in Dignity, for nothing leſs than a Royal Crown cou'd ſatisfie his Ambition.

In *June* 1630. a Diet was held at *Ratisbon*, and by the Intrigues of the Duke of *Bavaria*, and of the *French* Embaſſador, all the Princes demanded the Depoſition of *Wallenſtein*, who had threaten'd to *whip the King of* Sweden *out off Germany*, and *Ferdinand* in hopes of his Son's Election, conſented to their Demands. When *Wallenſtein* heard that he was turn'd out of his Commiſſion and Count *Tilly* put in his Place; he affected to appear very little concern'd at his Diſgrace, and only ſaid: That the Emperor was betray'd by corrupt Councellors,

cellors. However he was in ſecret enrag'd, and meditated Revenge, reſolving if ever the Neceſſity of *Ferdinand*'s Affairs oblig'd him to recal him, he wou'd be in a Condition to keep the *Batoon* of General, as long as he pleas'd. He kept ſeveral Colonels and other Officers of his Army; which was disbanded, in Pay, in Expectation of an occaſion of their Service, and that he ſhou'd be ſtill greater than ever he had been; which *Giovan Baptiſta Seny*, his Aſtrologer, had promis'd him to be if there was any Truth in the Stars, or any certainty in his Art. 'Tis ſaid the Baron *de la Tour* a Bohemian Fugitive, tempted him to ſerve *Guſtavus Adolphus*, and that a Treaty to that Effect, very advantagious for *Wallenſtein*, had been concluded, if *Arneinch* the Elector of *Saxony*'s General, with whom he had a long and private Conference, had not perſwaded him not to truſt the Swedes; but rather to endeavour to be reſtor'd to the Command of the Emperor's Armies; and then he wou'd have a better Opportunity, and a ſurer one to revenge the Affront put upon him. After his Demiſſion, he retir'd to *Bohemia*, and liv'd in his Palace at *Prague*, more like a King in his Glory, than a Subject in Diſgrace. An hundred Houſes were pull'd down, to erect that Magnificent Building, on the Foundation of their Ruins. There were ſix great Gates to receive the numerous Crouds

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of Perſons of all Qualities, who made their Court to him, to ſhare in his Pleaſures or of his Bounty. His Apartments, his Gardens, his Statues, Grottos, Water-works both at *Prague*, and his Pallace at *Gidzin*, were finer than any the Emperor had at *Vienna* or elſewhere. He had always 300 Horſe, the beſt he cou'd purchaſe, running in his Park in the Day time, and at Night, they were on a Signal given, brought by their Keepers into Stables, where the Mangers were of Marble, and the Building anſwerable to it. Rather fit to lodge the Lord of many Nations, than a private Man's Grooms and Horſes. He left his Pallace at *Sagan* imperfect; which had it been finiſh'd, it might have been compar'd with the moſt Excellent Architecture of the Ancient *Greeks* or *Romans*, from the beſt Accounts we have of their Edefices. He built a Charter-Houſe, and a Jeſuits Colledge at *Gidzin*, and a Church for the Proteſtants at *Glogow*, indeavouring to reconcile both Papiſts and Proteſtants in his Intereſt. His Tables were every Day cover'd with 100 Diſhes, 50 Halberdiers, all proper handſome Men, waited in his Anti-Chamber. Sentinels kept Guard at his Gates, and Staff-Officers walkt up and down, to keep all things in order, twelve Men went their Rounds about his Palace, to prevent Noiſe; for he was ſo delicate that he cou'd not bear

bear the leaſt Diſturbance. He maintain'd 60 Pages, all young Gentlemen of Ancient Families, who were bred up at his Charge, by the moſt able Maſters in all ſorts of Sciences. His Liveries were gay and rich. A vaſt Number of Gentlemen were his Domeſtick Servants, four Maſters of the Chamber waited to give Notice when any one came to ſpeak with him, and conducted thoſe that viſited him to their Audience; ſix Barons and ſix Knights were always near his Perſon, to receive his Commands. Several Gentlemen of the Emperor's Bed-Chamber ſerv'd him in the ſame Office. The Steward of his Houſhold was a Lord of the firſt Rank. When he travell'd he had 50 Waggons with 6 Horſes, and 50 Carts with 4, to carry his Baggage, and 6 Coaches with 6 Horſes each, attended him full of Men of Quality, who follow'd his Court. 50 Men well mounted, led 50 Horſes Harneſt, with the richeſt Furniture: Beſides this extravagant Expence on himſelf, he was at a vaſt Charge to maintain his Wife in an Equipage agreeable to his own; In Penſions at home and for Intelligence abroad. Nor was this Greatneſs without Deſign, to draw the Reſpect and Love of the People, and engage 'em by degrees, to allow of his aiming to mount higher yet, and ſince he was already a King in Appearance that they might not think much of his endeavouring

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to be ſo in reality. His Soul was too aſpiring to content its ſelf with 2 or 3 ſmall Dutchies in *Germany*, *Bohemia* and *Sileſia*, and as he was Ambitious himſelf, he deſpis d thoſe that were not like him, being us'd to ſay to his Confidents

Ab humili & depreſſo animo nihil magnum egregiumque expectari poſſe.

Nothing great and noble can be expected from an humble and depreſs'd Mind. Before his Demiſſion he was ſo Haughty, that he treated his Equals, as if they had been his Servants, and when any Complaints were made to him of the Inſolencies of his Soldiers; whom he permitted to live at Diſcretion, he vindicated them inſtead of puniſhing, call'd *Dictator Imperii*; the Dictator of the Empire. However as imperious as he was, he was Fortunate, and *Ferdinand*'s faithful Servant; while *Ferdinand* ſuffer'd him to rule at Pleaſure under him. And the Emperor in a very little time repented that he had taken the Command from him.

The King of *Sweden* enter'd *Pomerania* entirely, ſubdu'd that Province, and the greateſt part of *Lower-Saxony*, in a few Weeks. He forc'd the Dutchy of *Mekelburg* to throw off *Wallenſtein*'s Yoke, and return to the Obedience of their Natural Lord.

The Elector of *Saxony* declar'd for him, and conquer'd *Bohemia*; which oblig'd *Wallenſtein* to leave his Magnificent Palace in *Prague*, and retire to *Zenam* in *Moravia*. The Elector of *Brandenburgh* and the Landgrave of *Heſſe* joyn'd with *Guſtavus Adolphus*: who having beaten *Tilly* at *Leipſick*, lead his Victorious Army to the *Meyn* and the *Rhine*, where he ſpent his time in Conquering ſome Cities, which held out for the Emperor; whereas if he had march'd forward, and invaded the Hereditary Countries, there was no Army to oppoſe him. The Duke of *Bavaria* in a Fright at the Defeat of his Renoun'd General, was ready to ſubmit to Mercy, and the Emperor muſt have been contented, with his old Patrimony in *Styria*, *Carinthia* and *Carniola*. Inſtead of this, the *Swedes* and the Proteſtants in *Germany*, who had it then in their Power, to root out Idolatry; tho' the *Empire* gave *Ferdinand* and the Papiſts time, to recover out of their Fright, and while the King of *Sweden* lorded it in *Franconia* and *Suabia*. The Emperor had an Opportunity by *Wallenſtein*'s Means to raiſe another Army in *Moravia* and *Sileſia*.

'Twas in the Beginning of the Year 1631. that the Emperor condeſcended in the Extremity of his Affairs to Count *Wallenſtein*, to take on him the Chief Command of his Forces

Forces. He ſent *Maximilian Wallenſtein*, Eſquire of the Body to the Emperor's Son the King of *Hungary*, to him, believing that being *Wallenſtein*'s Kinſman, and having ſome Influence over him, he wou'd perſwade him to forget his late Diſgrace, and accept of the Honours, which were offer'd to him. The Propoſal pleas'd both his Ambition and Revenge. But he held out againſt all Entreaties, and pretended he was ſo in Love with Retirement and a Country Life, that nothing cou'd tempt him to quit his Solitude. Yet he confeſs'd he cou'd not forbear pitying the ſad Circumſtances his Soveraign was in; which he ſaid to make room for a renewing of the Treaty with him on ſuch terms as he ſhou'd require. Tho' *Zenam* was not far from *Vienna*, *Wallenſtein* never went thither, becauſe he ſtood on being treated as a Sovereign Prince, and to have the Title of Highneſs. The Imperial Miniſters finding this way of treating was too dilatory, and did not ſuit the Neceſſity of the Government, advis'd the Emperor, to ſend the Prince of *Echamberg* with full Power to grant all his Demands. *Echamberg* was *Ferdinand*'s Chief Favourite, and firſt Miniſter of State, and *Wallenſtein* had been often oblig'd by him. The Prince, ill as he was, being much troubled with the Gout, repair'd to *Zenam*, deliver'd *Wallenſtein* Letters from the Emperor, earneſtly

pray'd him to take upon him the Chief Command of his Armies, and promis'd him what Rewards he cou'd deſire, on the ſecurity of the Emperor's Word, and on his own. *Wallenſtein* ſeem'd to hearken a little to his Requeſt, and had nothing to ſay againſt it; but that he was apprehenſive of the Malice of his Enemies, who were always ready, to calumniate him, and *Ferdinand* too eaſily gave Credit to their falſe Reports, and Misrepreſentations of his moſt Innocent Actions. Beſides, he continu'd to argue that if he accepted of the Command, there were no Troops to obey him, and he did not ſee, how they cou'd be rais'd. At laſt, after many Difficulties, he conſented to ſerve the Emperor as his General, for four Months only. When *Echamberg* was gone, *Wallenſtein* began to contrive, how he ſhou'd proceed in the carrying on the Project of his Advancement to the Throne of *Bohemia*; for no leſs than that Crown was in his View, and he cou'd not but rejoyce at the fair Occaſion which preſented to bring about his intended Revolution, with Eaſe and Safety; Reſolving when he had ſecur'd the *Empire* from the Danger threaten'd it by the *Swedes*, not to lay down his *Batoon* ſo tamely, as he had done two Years before. He did not truſt his Confidents with his Deſign of making himſelf King; but all his Conferences with them, tended to his Re-

Revenge, and the advancing himſelf to Power, was only as he pretended to ſhew his Reſentment of the Affront he had receiv'd, tho' every ſtep he took that way lead him to the Throne. His Chief Counſellors were *Tersky*, *Kinsky*, *Illoo* and *Nieuman*, from whom he kept the ſecret of his projected Royalty; but in other Matters conſulted and truſted them. He appear'd to aim heartily, at the good of his Sovereign and Country. And in the Exerciſe of his Office, was very zealous, to levy a ſufficient Strength, to make head againſt the *Swedes*. He gave out Commiſſions to raiſe 60 Regiments, and treated with *Uladiſlaus* King of *Poland*, for 20000 *Coſacks*: He ſent an Envoy to the Duke of *Lorrain*, to engage him in the War; and Agents into *Italy* to buy Arms. In three Months time he muſter d 30000 Men, near *Zenam*, which he had himſelf rais'd, enabled to do it by large Preſents from the King of *Spain*, and the Contributions of the Imperial Miniſters. The Soldiers ran to liſt under him, and his Name got an Army together, before the Emperor thought he cou'd have beaten his Drums, in all the Places, where he intended to make his Levies. He put ſeveral of his Relations at the Head of Regiments, and the Collonels of the reſt, were ſuch, as he had engag'd in his Intereſt, by his Liberality, ſince they were dis-

banded with the Army, which he formerly commanded. And he knew the Emperor was under a Neceſſity, to continue him in his Office. However, to ſell his Service, as dearly as he cou'd, after the Army was rais'd, he deſir'd ſome other General might be ſent to Command it, and that he might be left at home, to enjoy the Sweets of Domeſtick Peace, of which he was more fond than of the Noiſe and Trouble of the War: He did this that by making the more Difficulty, in accepting the Command, he might get the Miniſters, to grant him the more Power; which was all he aim'd at. The King of *Hungary*, and the Duke of *Bavaria*, were for taking him at his Word; but the Court of *Vienna* knowing *Bavaria* was treating with the King of *Sweden*, and not being willing to put all things in the Power of the *Spaniards*, who govern'd the King of *Hungary*, did not hearken to the reaſons that were giv'n againſt employing *Wallenſtein*: On the contrary, the Emperor ſent the Prince of *Echamberg*, and the Biſhop of *Vienna* to him, with Commiſſion, to grant all his Demands; which were to be Generaliſſimo of the Armies of *Auſtria*, and Arbiter of War and Peace. That the King of *Hungary*, ſhou'd never come to the Army. That he might without being accountable to any one diſpoſe of the Rebels Eſtates, and quarter his Troops in the Hereditary Countries,

tries, if he ſaw occaſion for it. To excuſe theſe hard Conditions, *Wallenſtein* ſaid, no great Enterprize ever ſucceeded, that was not under the Conduct of one Man, that the *Romans* having driv'n away their King, was oblig'd to Choſe a *Dictator*. That *Guſtaphus Adolphus* being Sole-head of his Councels, had been ſucceſsful beyond his Hopes. He ſaid in the Negotiations of Peace, the Number of Perſons concern'd in 'em, was often prejudicial to the Secret; which is eſſential in ſuch Treaties, and different Intereſts often delay'd, and broke 'em off. As to the King of *Hungary*, he alleg'd, 'twas not convenient that he ſhou'd command the Army, nor that the Emperor's Son ſhou d obey another. That what he requir'd, relating to Winter-Quarters in the Hereditary Countries, was in caſe of Neceſſity, that the Enemy ſhou'd poſſeſs themſelves of the other parts of *Germany*; and that he deſir'd to have the Diſpoſal of the Rebels Eſtates, for the Incouragement of his Officers and Soldiers, who wou'd be the more zealous in the Diſcharge of their Duty, when they knew that their General, who was a Witneſsof their Actions, was enabled to reward them. To prevent any Umbrage of his aiming at any thing more by his Demands, than the Publick Welfare, he deſir'd his own part of the Emperor's Rewards, might be aſſign'd him in *Auſtria*. Shewing he in-

tended to live in a Dependance upon him, and that his Dutchy of *Meckelburgh* might be reſtor'd to him, on the Peace. The *Spaniards* when they found they cou'd not get the Command of the Army for the King of *Hungary*, ſeem'd to approve of *Wallenſtein*'s Commiſſion, and to cajole him, ſent him the Order of the Golden Fleece. Yet they propos'd, that the King ſhou'd reſide at *Prague*, as ſoon as *Bohemia* was reconquer'd, and have an Army to keep that Kingdom quiet, *Wallenſtein* perceiv'd what they meant by it, and agreed to it, that the Emperor might have no Jealouſy of his Deſigns. The Duke of *Bavaria* broke off his Treaty with the King of *Sweden*, and enter'd heartily afreſh into the War. In this poſture were *Ferdinand*'s Affairs, when *Wallenſtein* put himſelf at the head of his Army, conſiſting of 40000 Men; which was enough to have made the Work ſhorter than he intended. He reſolv'd to lengthen out the War, to have time to gain over the Army, entirely to his Intereſt, and to give *Guſtavus Adolphus* an Opportunity, to ruin the Duke of *Bavaria*, whom he mortally hated. Beſides this, he believ'd the *Swedes*, after they had done their Buſineſs in *Bavaria*, and he had weaken'd the Hereditary Countries, by Quartering upon them, wou'd rather conſent to reſign part of the *Empire* to him, than run the hazard of loſing all their Con-

queſts

queſts by a new War. To Colour his Treaſon he appear'd very Induſtrious in his Commiſſion, and haſtned his march into *Bohemia*, as if he intended to put an end to the War in a Campaign. He was join'd by *Galas* in his march, and in a ſhort time he overcame that Kingdom, recover'd *Prague* and *Egra*, and drove the *Saxons* out of all the Cities they had Seiz'd in it.

The King of *Sweden* ſoon repented that he had neglected *Wallenſtein* to follow Count *Tilly* into *Bavaria*. He us'd to call *Wallenſtein* a *Fool*, *Tilly* a *Prieſt*, and *Papenheim* a *Soldier* : But he wou'd have been very much miſtaken in the firſt of 'em, had not his Ambition blinded his Reaſon, *Wallenſtein* forc'd *Arneinch*, the Elector of *Saxony*'s General, to paſs the *Elbe*, and Retreat to the Mountains of *Miſnia*, and wou'd have follow'd him, but that he heard the Duke of *Bavaria* was driven out of his Country, and marching his Army to join his, and together to put a ſtop to the *Swedes* (who were Ravaging *Bavaria*) and to Beſiege *Nuremburgh*. *Wallenſtein* and the Duke join'd their Armies near *Egra* in *Bohemia*, and march'd towards that City, in hopes to draw *Guſtavus Adolphus* out of *Bavaria*. The two Armies took *Ratisbon*, and being too ſtrong for the King of *Sweden*, he retir'd under the Cannon of *Nuremberg*, where he was very much ſtreight-

ſtreightned for Proviſions, and had *Wallenſtein* follow'd the Advice of the Duke of *Bavaria*, and contented himſelf with ſhuting up the *Swedes* in that Poſt, he had ſtarv'd both the Army and the Garriſon in *Nuremberg*; but out of Jealouſy to the Duke, he gave Battle, and tho' the *Swedes* loſt 5000 Men, and *Wallenſtein* ſcarce 2000, yet *Guſtavus* enlarg'd his Quarters, and got room to draw off into *Franconia*, where he was plentifully ſupply'd with all ſorts of Proviſions, and encreas'd his Army with Auxiliary Troops from his Confederates in *Germany*, and Recruits from his own Dominions. *Wallenſtein* march'd into *Saxony* to reduce that Electorate, and here, by the Means of the Prince of *Denmark*, who ſerv'd as a Volunteer in his Army, a Treaty was ſet on Foot between him and the Elector at firſt, and in the end the *Swedes* were taken in, and Methods concerted for his Joining 'em, and to Conquer *Bohemia* and *Sileſia* for himſelf. But before things went ſo far, he fought the famous Battle of *Zuten*, in which *Guſtavus Adolphus* was kill'd in *November* 1632. tho' the *Swedes* continu'd Maſters of the Field, and their Generals proſecuted the War with Vigour. *Wallenſtein*, after this Battle, march'd into *Bohemia*, and from thence into *Saxony*, took *Leipſick*, and might have ſubdu'd that Province, had he not thought

it

it his Intereſt to ſlacken his Hand, and to fall in with the Proteſtants and the Male-contents, apprehending that the Emperor, who began to conceive a Jealouſy of his Proceedings, wou'd take away his Commiſſion, and give the Command of his Armies to the King of *Hungary*. *Wallenſtein* promis'd to interceed with the Emperor and the King of *Hungary* for the Proteſtants, if they wou'd ſupport his demands of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and the Province of *Sileſia*, to be granted to him as a Compenſation for the Dutchy of *Mekleburgh*, to which they agreed. Theſe Terms were Concluded between them by the Mediation of *Arneinch*, the Elector of *Saxony*'s General, who was his Friend, and of the Duke of *Saxe Lawemburgh*. What gave great Umbrage to the Emperor was, his Quartering part of his Forces in the Hereditary Countries, notwithſtanding *Ferdinand* had ſent him an order to diſpoſe of them in other places, where they might conveniently ſubſiſt, and he took no Notice of his Maſter's directions, but ſuffer'd his Troops to Commit all manner of Spoil in *Moravia*, *Sileſia* and *Auſtria*.

He impos'd an Oath of Fidelity on his Officers and Soldiers to be true to him, without mentioning the Emperor in the Engagement, and ſpar'd no coſt nor pains to gain 'em, over to his Party. He Feaſted and Careſt

reſt them, and when they were warm with Wine, they ſwallow'd his Oath, which many of 'em repented of when they grew ſober. To amuſe the Emperor he order'd *Tersky* and *Kinsky* to wait on him, and aſſure him of his Loyalty; however, to be ſafe againſt any private or publick deſigns againſt him, he retir'd to *Ægra*, and Quarter'd his Troops round about him. He thought he was ſecure of the Garriſon of *Ægra*, being moſt of them *Iriſh*-men, whom he had oblig'd by his Bounty; beſides, from thence he might with Convenience carry on his Correſpondence with Duke *Bernard*, who Commanded the *Swediſh* Army, and with the Elector of *Saxony*. The Plot for his joining Duke *Bernard* was almoſt ripe, the *Swedes* were in Motion towards *Bohemia*, and he was in the faireſt way to the Throne, to which he aſpir'd: He had Defeated *Galas*, whom *Ferdinand* had order'd to ſecure *Sileſia*, and all that Province ſubmitted to him. *Prague* was, for a vaſt Sum of Money, kept in her Obedience to the Emperor, or he wou'd, without ſtriking a ſtroke, have made himſelf Maſter of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*. He had not yet declar'd his Intentions to join the *Swedes*, and pretended to act purely in his own Defence: But he was about to throw off the Mask, when the Couriers that came daily to him from *Saxony*, and

Duke

Duke *Bernard*, gave cauſe of Suſpicion to Coll. *Gourdon*, who Commanded the Guard at *Egra*, Coll. *Leſly*, two *Scots* Officers that ſerv'd under him, and theſe acquainted Coll. *Butler* an *Iriſh*-man, and one *Walter Devereux* an *Engliſh*-man, that they ſuſpected *Wallenſtein* meant to aſſiſt the *Swedes* againſt the Emperor, and that they ſhou'd do a generous Action, and which *Ferdinand* wou'd highly Reward if they cou'd prevent it; accordingly they entred into a Conſpiracy how to effect it, and agreed to Invite *Tersky*, *Kinsky*, *Illo* and *Nieuman*, *Wallenſtein*'s Chief Confidents to Supper at *Gordon*'s Quarters, in the Caſtle of *Egra*, and when they were in the heighth of their Mirth, and Security, to Murder 'em, That afterwards they ſhou'd break open *Wallenſtein*'s Apartment, and do the ſame by him, which they perform'd. *Gourdon* and *Leſley* fell upon *Tersky*, and the reſt of their Gueſts, crying out, *Long Live the Emperor*. *Butler* and *Devereux* immediately ran to *Wallenſtein*'s Chamber, and broke open the Door; they found him Undreſſing himſelf to go to Bed. *Butler* ſaid, *art thou there, thou Traitor to the Emperor and Empire*, at which words *Devereux* Ran him thro' the Body with a Pike, and he fell down dead at his Feet, after which they threw his Corps out of the Caſtle Window, and then went into the Town Declaring for the Emperor, and on the News of *Wallenſtein*'s Death,

his

his Soldiers every where return'd to their Duty. The Duke of *Saxe Lawemburgh* coming to *Egra*, was ſeiz'd and ſent to *Vienna*, and the King of *Hungary* Succeeded *Wallenſtein* in the Command of the Imperial Army in the beginning of the Year 1634.

FINIS.

ERRATA

PAge 2. line 1. read *Glamorgan.* p. 10. l. 15. r. *Ruthen.* p. 34. *Englands.* p. 49. l. 16. r. *the Buſineſs.* l. 23. r. *one of a* p. 50. l. 29. r. *Letters.* p. 51. l. 6. r. *not the Queens.* l. 9. *dele not.* p. 52. l. 17. r. *voluntarily.* p. 55. l. 3. r. Robert, *King of* Naples. p. 60. l. 25. r. *Puritans.* p, 62. l. 12. *dele for.* p. 89. l. 27. r. *Advice.* p. 92. l. 25. r. *Supplies.* p. 100. l. 31. *dele ſhe.* p. 108. l. 28. r. *a fright.* p. 120. l. 13. r. *Learnedly.* p. 150. l, 1. r. *16th.* p. 164. l. 8. r. *Sixteenths.* p. 165. r. George *Duke of* Buckingham *in the Running Title.* p. 171. l. 23. r. *at the.* p. 177. l. 14. r. French. p. 189. l. 16. r. *miſery.* l. 17. r. *but the.* p, 206. l. 19. r. *fly to.* p. 224. l. 7. r. *Incourage.* p. 237. l. 21. r. *Expedition.* p. 239. l. 4. r. *Sir* Robert. l. 21. r. *Corn lies.* p. 264. l. 31. r. Presbyterian. l. 22. r. London's. p. 303. l. 25. r. *the Splendor.*

PART. II.

p. 306. l. 19. r. *Chriſtians.* p. 317. l. 2. *dele and.* p. 336. l. 2. r. *Accuſe.* p. 342. l. 19. r. Melun. p. 351. l. 21. r. *bad.* p. 353. l. 18. r. *that Province.* p. 356. l. 24. r. *Mareſchal.* p. 360. l. 4. r. *Villages.* p, 367. l. 22. r. *pardon them.* p. 371. l. 3. r. *St.* Jeon. p. 373. l. 6. r. *he Confirm'd.* p. 413. l. 21. r. Jeanne. p. 472. l. 1. r. *Marquiſs.* p. 438. l. 8. r. *of* Savoy. p. 441. l. 27. r. *the Creation.* p. 486. l. 3. r. *One Thouſand.*

BL